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The Shape of Things

THE IMMEDIATE QUESTION BEFORE THE United Nations General Assembly, as we go to press, is the one raised by the Arab states whose delegates have arrived determined to press for an "independent Palestine now." Their plea, certainly accompanied by warm assurances of equal rights for all in the new state, is likely to appeal to many people whose minds are focused on the single fact of British dominance and who associate independence with peace and security. Unhappily the situation in the free Arab states already in existence gives no ground for such hopes. Everywhere in the Middle East religious and racial minorities are discriminated against and often subjected to massacre. If Palestine were given its independence now while Jews are in a minority, it would mean civil war and eventually the end of the whole Zionist development. Obviously this tragedy must be avoided, not only because the world cannot afford to lose one of its most hopeful experiments in social democracy, not only to fulfill the obligations to the Jews assumed after World War I by Britain, America, and the League of Nations, but also and even more urgently to save the lives of the Jews grimly awaiting rescue in Germany and Cyprus. The Arab states cannot be allowed to prevent appointment of the U. N. inquiry committee by pressing their intransigent demand. Doubtless they will be voted down eventually, but meanwhile valuable time may be lost and questions debated which should obviously be put off until the inquiry has been completed and its report brought in.

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THE PRESIDENT'S CAMPAIGN TO DEFEAT inflation by "moral suasion" has won some minor successes, but the citadel of high prices shows little sign of willingness to surrender. What has mainly been achieved so far is a psychological impact on the minds of the public. Consumers, already displaying increasing sales resistance, have become still more allergic to high prices, and while the industrial sector as a whole affects indifference to this development, the retailers are showing signs of alarm. And well they may, for there is plenty of evidence that retail business is slipping. Department-store sales for the week ending April 19 were 6 per cent below those of a year ago, indicating a very much sharper decline in volume, since prices are so much higher than

they were in April, 1946. Such facts are stimulating drives by retailers to get prices down. However, stunts like the Newburyport Week—we use the term in no opprobrious sense—can hardly be more than one-shot promotion affairs unless the participating merchants can persuade their suppliers to cut prices also. A few manufacturers have done so. Lever Brothers announced a downward revision in soap prices which its competitors quickly followed; the California vintners have decided to try to reduce their overflowing inventories by cutting wholesale rates from 10 to 30 percent; a scattering of individual concerns have made cuts in such lines as copper cable and wire, shoes, electrical appliances, and lumber.

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ON THE OTHER HAND, N. A. M. PRESIDENT Earl Bunting has come out with a statement that prices are bound to go higher as a result of the new round of wage increases. He asserted that if the 13,000,000 factory workers in this country all get 15 cents an hour more, it will cost industry \$4,058,000,000 as against net profits after taxes of \$4,500,000,000 in 1945, the last year, he said, for which complete figures are available. As Mr. Bunting should know, incomplete figures indicate that 1946 industrial profits were considerably higher than that. Moreover, it is absurd to deduct the cost of wage increases from net profits; obviously they are a charge against gross earnings, and the effect on net is much less severe than Mr. Bunting indicated. The same curious kind of accounting distinguished a statement by Eugene G. Grace, chairman of Bethlehem Steel, when he said that the new wage agreement would cost between \$5 and \$6 per common share. Because of this increase, he went on, there is "no prospect of cutting steel prices at this time. . . . Let even ten points drop from the current operating rates and see what will happen." We would respectfully suggest to Mr. Grace that a price cut might well prove the best insurance against this eventuality. Meanwhile we note that Bethlehem Steel earned \$4.84 per common share in the three months ending March 31—the best showing for a first quarter in its history. If it keeps this up, 1947 profits will be very close to those of the record year 1940, after making every allowance for the new wage increase. Bethlehem's experience is typical of that of other big industrial concerns.

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For the record we set down a few profit figures culled from the spate of reports published in the past week:

Company	Period ending March 31	
	1947	1946
American Radiator	\$3,478,212	\$ 746,131
Acme Steel	2,055,118	679,329
National Gypsum	1,314,617	673,690
Texas Gulf Sulphur	4,512,978	2,952,734
National Biscuit	6,781,154	3,840,228

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GROWING PANICKY IN ITS SEARCH FOR ITEMS to excise from the President's budget, the House of Representatives last week, in carrying out the recommendations of its Appropriations Committee, all but ripped the heart out of the country's power and reclamation program. Cutting the Department of the Interior's budget by 47 per cent, the House followed the pattern of "economizing" discussed in these pages last week. The budget of the Bonneville Power Administration was reduced by two-thirds. So little was allowed for new power and reclamation projects in the Central Valley of California, the Columbia Basin, and the Missouri River Valley that, unless the Senate repairs the damage, some of them cannot be completed for decades. Not satisfied with this blow at public-power projects, the House voted to curtail activities that the government has carried on for years. It refused funds for collecting statistics on bituminous coal, recommended the cessation of underground water surveys which the Geological Survey has been making for half a century, and eliminated all soil and moisture work on grazing lands. There is a good deal of method behind this superficial madness. The drive paves the way for tax cuts which can be distributed to the advantage of the wealthy if the Republican-sponsored tax bill is passed, and it provides an opportunity to cripple activities long frowned on by "economic royalists." Some of these cuts may be restored in the Senate. Western Republicans are incensed, and cautious party leaders are aware that such tactics can make the West a gift to Truman in 1948. The budget-cutters, however, are trading on the fact that the public is only dimly aware of the services the federal government performs for it and is likely to regard any form of economizing and tax reduction as desirable. Only an angry and audible reaction from the beneficiaries of government services will convince them otherwise.

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GREAT INTEREST WILL NOW BE CENTERED on the special elections in the state of Washington in June to fill the vacancy left in Congress by the death last week of Representative Fred Norman, Republican. It will be the first test of Congressional strength since last November. The Interior cuts will be the main issue, for this is the district that contains Bonneville.

ALTHOUGH YOUR NAME MAY BE GONZALES, the school authorities of California will no longer be able to segregate your children in the public schools. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has handed down a unanimous decision outlawing segregated schools in California. What distinguishes the decision from others upholding racial and ethnic democracy is the vigor of its language and the boldness of its conclusions. Justice William Denman, in a concurring opinion, went one step farther than his colleagues and suggested that the school authorities of Orange County should be indicted for their flagrant violation of the oath of office. "It is to such officials," Justice Denman caustically observed, "who so violate their oaths of office and openly break the state and federal law, and who set such an example to boys and girls, that these adolescents are intrusted to grow up in the American way of life." If Mexican youngsters could be segregated, he said, so could other groups; and thus "Hitler's anti-Semitism would have a long start in a country which gave its youth to aid in its destruction." If the school authorities appeal to the Supreme Court, which they are likely to do in order to escape possible indictment for past derelictions, the Westminster case may, indeed, make legal history in the nation.

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REMEMBER HAROLD RUTTENBERG? FOR TEN years he was the very able research director of Philip Murray's union of steelworkers, and while in that job he, with Clinton Golden, then the union's vice-president, wrote a book on the kind of America we could have. He also wrote articles on labor for *The Nation*. Last week Ruttenberg's latest literary effort appeared in *Life*. It was a letter to the editor which the journal featured prominently. Ruttenberg, now a budding industrialist, the vice-president of a small steel mill, has done a somersault. The former apostle of low prices in an economy of abundance now proclaims as his philosophy the great benefit to the public of high prices and high profits. He argues that the profits of the steel industry (see above) are not large enough to induce the industry to build the new plants whose products the world needs so desperately. Ruttenberg reaches his climax with a short and simple prescription for inducing the reluctant dragons who own the steel industry to build more mills. "We have four-cents-a-pound steel now," he says; "let's raise it to five cents." Ruttenberg discusses steel as you would a Hershey bar, neglecting to mention the fact that steel is bought and used, not by the pound, but by the ton, and on that unit his penny is multiplied two thousand times. Steel in its manifold uses accounts for 45 per cent of the total income of this country and for 40 per cent of the jobs. The present capacity of the steel industry is too small—85,000,000 tons. But even on that tonnage the penny a pound means an increased steel price of, hold your breath, \$1,750,000,000 annually, every cent of which, by the

Ruttenberg formula, would be extra profit for the steelmasters. What that increase, pyramided into buildings, automobiles, bridges, and kitchen sinks, would mean to our already inflated economy, and to the impoverished countries of the world, is something only a steel-plated tycoon could contemplate with pleasure.

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THE RULING OF ACTORS' EQUITY THAT IF the National Theater in Washington continues to deny admission to Negroes after May 31, 1948, members of Equity will not be allowed to appear on its stage is wonderfully simple, clear, and firm. It cuts through all the old rationalizations—that Washington is a Southern town, that Jim Crow is an old customer, that these delicate matters must be worked out gradually—and dramatizes the scandalous fact that eighty-four years after the Emancipation Proclamation colored Americans are forbidden to sit beside white Americans in a theater, ironically named the National, in the capital city of the United States. (Gradualism indeed—and whom *did* your sister marry?) The rationalizers will not down easily. Marcus Heiman, manager of the National, does not want his theater to be made a "guinea pig" in a fight against Jim Crow in Washington, and he is afraid patronage will fall off. A spokesman for the League of New York Theaters believes that the situation should be remedied by legislation—and no doubt it should. There will be further protests, excuses, and apologetics from individuals and groups with far less admirable motives. But we hope that Equity will stick to its guns, and we are sure it will. Theater people are likely to be regarded, say by a Southern politician, as light-minded and impractical—but they are not apt to be taken in by such an outworn belief, for instance, as the myth of white superiority. They have seen too many Bill Robinsons for that.

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IN THE CURIOUS FRED ALLEN AFFAIR, OUR professional concern for the under dog is canceled out by our equally professional zeal for the Four Freedoms. Vice-presidents, like mothers-in-law, have for generations been fair game for jokesters, and we might almost have enjoyed seeing one suddenly turn and bite a comedian. But apparently you can't give the vice-presidential under dogs of the National Broadcasting Company any such leeway. Allow one of them to bite Fred Allen and the whole pack goes wild, not only taking nips out of Bob Hope and Red Skelton but laying down high and mighty rules as to who may nip whom in the future. There was something inspiring, too, in the way the comedians closed ranks and thumbed a collective nose at their network bosses after Allen had been cut off the air for half a minute for joshing a v. p. In a spontaneous wave of sympathy, they taunted the vice-presidents and invited thirty-second-degree martyrdom until the network broke under the strain, recanted, and tried feebly to pass

the whole thing off as a gay jest. The vice-presidents have crept back, shamefaced, to their desks, and will probably take a worse mauling than ever. As for us, we shall waste no sympathy on underdogs-in-the-manger and wish only that the Shirers of radio had the solidarity of the Allens.

What America Wants

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IT DOES NOT require the free-swinging imagination of an H. G. Wells to realize that mankind today is in the midst of one of the great movements of change that have punctuated its history. When Secretary Marshall and Henry Wallace landed in Washington the other day, one from a somewhat qualified defeat at Moscow, one from a rather ambiguous triumph in several European capitals, they represented something far more important than the events in which they took part. Each represented a tendency, a stream, in a swift and largely uncontrolled current. At present those tendencies cross one another, setting up a lively riddle. But Henry Wallace's thinking is not as far from George Marshall's as both men probably believe; they are moving together in the same general direction.

I have been trying, during these past days of deadlock in Moscow and vehement debate in Washington, to consider objectively the purpose this country's foreign policy is intended to defend, and then to appraise the policy itself as an instrument for that purpose. Little is gained by concentrating on individual eddies or tide-rips; they may be the daily business of journalism, but they will not be understood unless one understands as well the direction and force of the current. Nor is it enough to say that the Truman Doctrine, as applied today to Greece and Turkey, is a demonstration of "ruthless imperialism"; or to deny this charge and argue that our policy is intended to head off the imperialist drive of Soviet Russia. The purpose behind either intention, as also behind the German policy developed at Moscow by Mr. Marshall and the trade policy expounded by our representatives at Geneva, is what needs looking at: this purpose is the preservation, against immense threat, of the system of private capitalist enterprise upon which our country's whole development has been based.

This is not a small thing or a contemptible one; it is the essence of America—as socialism is the essence of Russia—and the fact that the system is giving way, bit by bit, in every continent but this one only increases the determination of those who believe in it to strengthen its defenses. For if free enterprise as a world system is crumbling, American free enterprise is not. This country

has resilience and natural wealth and a productive capacity never equaled in all history; the study of America's needs and resources issued last week by the Twentieth Century Fund reveals a sensational picture of present-day facts and future possibilities.

No social order gives up while it is still capable of self-defense. Even the Communists, when it happens to suit their purpose, recognize the vitality of the American system, and I noticed that their advertisement which appears on the back cover of this issue proclaims unqualified faith in political democracy and peaceful methods, with "socialism as an ultimate goal." These protestations should be taken seriously for one reason: they offer evidence that the Communist Party recognizes the irrelevance to the American situation of the traditional position that links its dogma and sympathies and methods to those of Soviet Russia. For American Communists to be honest revolutionaries today would not only threaten their survival; it would also be utopian. And modern Communist tactics are nothing if not practical.

The question Americans must answer, as they consider the impact of the Truman Doctrine on the rest of the world, is: Do we believe—assuming the United States will do its utmost to defend the free-enterprise system—that our present foreign policy is likely to accomplish this purpose?

In Greece we are not going to preserve democracy, since there is none to preserve; nor establish it, since we have promised the present regime military help to put down rebellion. We are aiming to stiffen the ability of one of the countries least able to sustain a capitalist economy to hold out on that basis against the threat of a revolution which might create, near the frontiers of Russia and the frontiers of our new oil empire in the Middle East, another Communist-controlled state.

In Turkey we aim to strengthen the country's resistance to Russian pressure; that, and nothing more.

After withdrawing our marines and apparently washing our hands of the Chinese mess, we are now about to send warships of various sorts as a gift to China's undemocratic but anti-Communist government. By helping the Kuomintang we not only hope to stymie Russia; we also help preserve the oppressive landlord system which the Chinese Communists have been wiping out in their areas.

In southern Korea we have been supporting reactionary political groups and putting down Communist ones and, along with the Communists, whatever democratic center groups may exist. More money and supplies will be put into this job; not because we are set on creating a democratic regime in southern Korea—we would have gone about the job very differently—but because we want to make the area a barricade against a northern Korea in which Russia has expropriated private property.

and is building a Communist-controlled Korean "people's army."

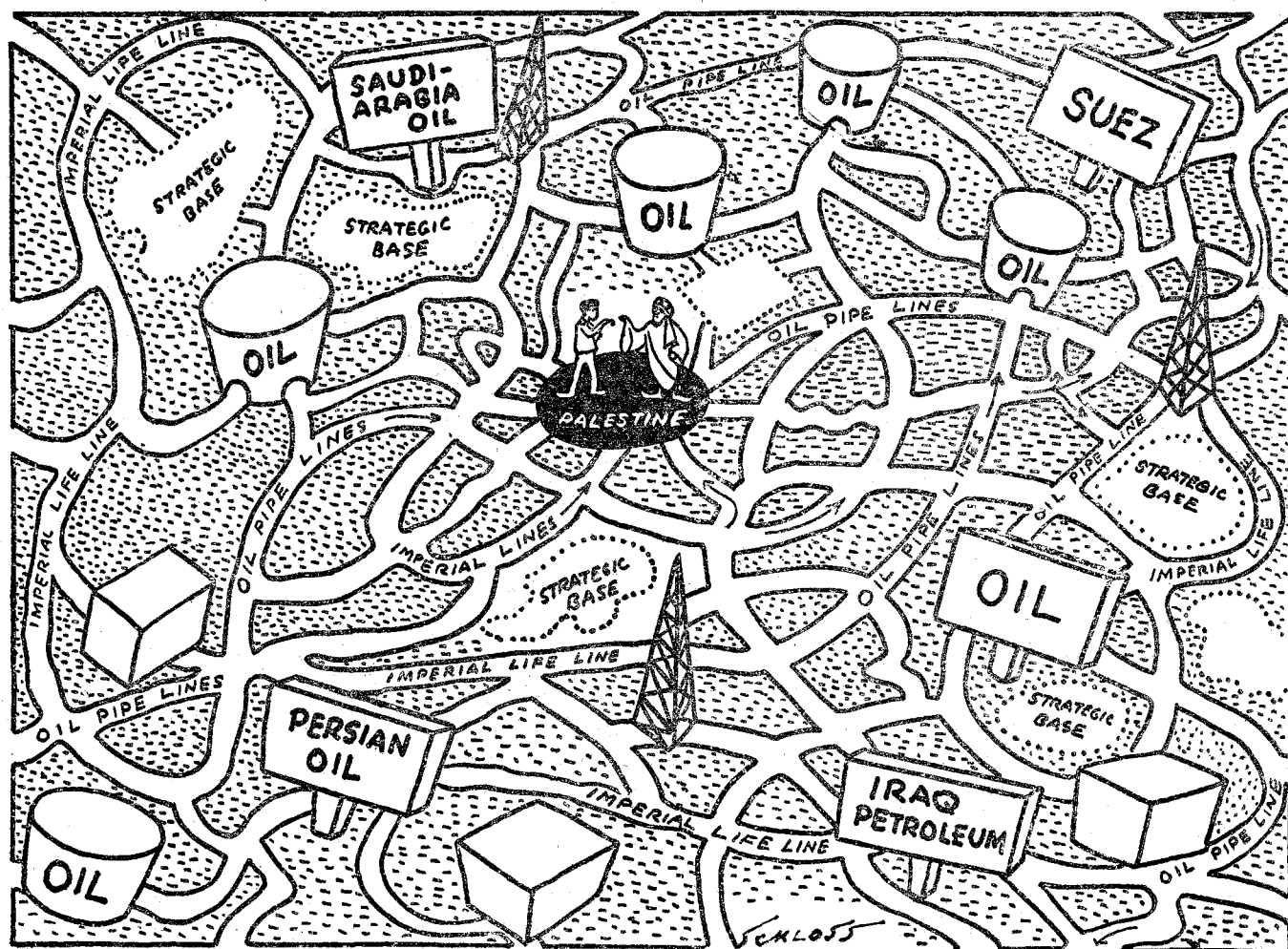
In Germany most Americans advocate, with Messrs. Dulles and Marshall, the restoration of a unified economic system under proper safeguards to prevent rearming or the revival of the great cartels. This idea dominated Secretary Marshall's policy in Moscow. Its object was not merely to save American dollars now being used to feed Germans, or to prevent Russia from getting the reparations Molotov demanded—though that turned out to be its practical effect. Its object was to create a Germany in which prosperity, or at least stability, might emerge from a revitalized system of finance and industry, strong enough to withstand the pull of the socialist economies and the Russian political power to the East.

It is very easy to say, as *The Nation* has sometimes said, that the way to offset Communist infection or pressure or outright threat is to make a country economically strong and prosperous. It has been suggested that in Greece, for instance, American money spent, not by a United States Economic Mission acting through a royalist regime, but through an internationally supervised commission acting for the United Nations, might rebuild the country to the point where democracy would reassert itself and put an end both to a corrupt oligarchy and to the danger of revolution and foreign control. Liberals have

also argued that in Germany we should use Socialists and trade unionists rather than the assorted rightists who more and more are taking over administrative functions. This, they believe, will put Germany's future in the hands of political groups which will resist both fascism and communism and lead Germany to some sort of a moderate social democracy.

Both liberals and conservatives count somehow on the power of American ideas and money to sweep back the revolutionary tide; the conservatives by "standing firm" or "getting tough," the liberals by yielding enough to the forces of change to placate and disarm them. The Marshalls want American efficiency and power to move to the peripheries of the non-Russian world and establish outposts of the system they identify with a decent civilization. The Wallaces want to go there, too, with tractors and TVA's and friendly agreements, to call off both the capitalist and the anti-capitalist drive. How realistic are the hopes of either? Do not both minimize the power of the revolutionary current?

In this process Russia is an aggressive force in a sense America so far is not. It believes, as this country does, that its system is somehow equated with civilization—with social justice and a superior variety of democracy. But it also believes that the American system is on the defensive—and so do we. This gives Russia a special dynamism in spite of its relative economic weakness.



Russia has in addition the invaluable aids of a faith and a communal spirit. With all its material success the American system has failed to evolve either one. On the other hand America has all the power that its greatly expanded industrial plant provides, together with an altogether new sense of urgency and mission, born of a sudden realization of the dangers ahead.

In face of this power Russia may halt and even appear to surrender; the American policy of toughness may seem successful. But I believe any such shift will be a temporary diversion, not a change of direction. The economic wastelands of the Eastern world cannot be turned into little Americas by dollars and soldiers. In Western Europe the revolutionary current is partly directed by conscious and more or less intelligent planning. A new order is taking form even while the process of crumbling goes on. Whether that form approximates Russia's will depend on a number of factors: the wealth of the area, the strength or weakness of the democratic tradition, the prevalence of political and financial corruption, the level of its industrial development, the vitality of its people. It is not necessary to believe that autocracy—socialist or otherwise—is the only alternative to capitalist democracy. But it is impossible to doubt that a planned and controlled—that is, a socialist—economy is necessary for the revival of Europe, or that an end of feudalism and upper-class oligarchy is necessary for Eastern Europe and the whole of Asia.

How long American capitalism can maintain its lusty health in a world where revolution is the condition of survival is something only a Henry Luce would dare guess. The Russians expect us to head into a series of depressions which will end in the collapse of the system; this is one reason why they may decide they can afford to relax their pressure in various parts of the world. Perhaps they underestimate the energy of the people and the solid resources available to cushion our falls. But one thing seems certain: we shall not successfully defend American capitalism by costly attempts to patch up the capitalism of Germany or Greece or by trying to perpetuate feudalism in the Balkans or the Middle East or China. By a paradox that seems to me a simple fact, peace and prosperity will be more secure in America if we accept the process of revolution in Europe and the East instead of subsidizing resistance to it. Our cherished capitalism itself might stand a better chance if we deliberately helped the peoples of the world to achieve socialism with a minimum of violence and repression: if we lent money to socialist states to get their state-owned industries working and their state-controlled trade flowing, to raise the standard of living of their hungry people and stabilize their debased currencies.

But this is a heresy that will not, I think, appeal to the inventors and apostles of the Truman Doctrine.

Back to McKinley

TO REPRESENTATIVE HARTLEY and Senator Taft the United States Steel Corporation and General Motors must seem models of ingratitude. The moment these statesmen launched their assault on collective bargaining was the very moment the two giant corporations chose to demonstrate the virtues of that procedure. And immediately following that demonstration, three other important companies—General Electric, Chrysler Corporation, and Jones and Laughlin—followed the lead of the two giants by reaching wage agreements based on an identical pattern. Given a reasonable balance of strength between the contending forces, these settlements showed, collective bargaining is not only an efficient institution but one that, preserving the dignity and self-respect of the contending parties, generates a good-will that is unknown where coercion is the rule.

It is this requirement of a reasonable balance of strength, we believe, that is crucial to any hope of industrial peace. In the very nature of a capitalist society, ownership starts off with a tremendous advantage. In an open-shop system it is a single controlled entity, holding the power to dictate the share which its individual and divided employees shall enjoy in a jointly made product, to say nothing of the conditions under which they work. The whole purpose of trade unionism has been to modify that original imbalance. This obvious point is rarely made in the halls of Congress; yet the extent to which equality of bargaining power exists in any industry is the extent to which stability may be expected in that industry's relations with labor. It is no coincidence that protracted strikes occur most rarely in those sections of the economy that are most strongly unionized—railroads, steel, garment manufacture, and shipping—coal being the conspicuous exception for reasons not entirely in the sphere of labor economics.

Between the dynamic stability that stems from a strong trade-union movement and the dead stability that rests on a complete suppression of organized labor there is only the troubled and costly and inconclusive industrial warfare that we have come to know so well. In this endless wrangling and frequent recourse to the strike are the proofs of immaturity, with labor too strong and too aware of its strength to accept a reversion to the economic tyranny of an earlier day and not yet strong enough to enjoy the status of an equal. Assuming that we do not want to remain longer than necessary in this intermediate stage, we can attempt to move either forward or backward. No society has ever succeeded in moving backward for any length of time or without the most violent repercussions. Yet that is precisely the spirit and intent of the legislation now being debated on Capitol Hill.

There are, as we have said in the past, abuses of power

in the trade unions. The fact that abuse is an almost inseparable companion of power does not justify it, and we do not oppose legislation designed to correct it. We believe, for example, that organized labor should have eliminated the jurisdictional strike long ago, and since it did not, we concede the need of government action. The same goes for certain types of secondary boycott. But such correctives are the smallest part of the legislation now offered in Congress. The Hartley bill in the House and the proposed Taft amendments in the Senate are designed not to protect the public from such abuses or to save innocent employees from unreasonable practices. Their purpose is to weaken labor's power in collective bargaining; in fact, to make bargaining all but impossible.

Taft has adopted an attitude of sweet reason on the floor of the Senate, where he talks of "equalizing" the bargaining power of labor and management, but before the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association he was more forthright. The Senate measure, he assured his audience, is "not a milk-toast bill," but covers about three-quarters of the objectives "pressed on us very strenuously by employers." And this is without the drastic amendments he proposes to insert and without reference to the far more punitive bill before the House.

As the Senate bill stands, it would, among other provisions, forbid the closed shop, list unfair union practices, permit the union shop only with modifications, exclude

foremen from protection of the Wagner act, make unions subject to suit, permit the National Labor Relations Act to enjoin jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts, and permit an employer to refuse to join in industry-wide bargaining. Taft would, in addition, give private employers injunctive relief on their own motion, put far more drastic curbs on industry-wide bargaining, and greatly restrict employer contributions to union welfare funds. The House bill, discussed in these pages two weeks ago, avoids even the pretense of "equalizing" bargaining power and would make trade unionism too meaningless to warrant the payment of dues.

Nothing could be more dangerous than the hallucination that the days of McKinley can be brought back by passing a law. The frenzy of the Congressional extremists has already brought the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. closer together than they have been in a decade, with Federation leaders all the more bitter against the Republican Party for the support they were foolish enough to give it last November. (Ironically, Hartley himself was among those specifically indorsed.) Something like sixteen million Americans belong to trade unions, and with their families they constitute a major and articulate part of the population. Since they will not and should not be reduced to economic impotence by Congressional fiat, it would be wiser to seek industrial peace by strengthening their hand in honest collective bargaining—and vastly more intelligent.

Where Do We Go from Moscow?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, April 25

THIS time it is really over—after seven weeks. Bevin, on Friday morning, made a long statement to the British press which was meant to show that, despite appearances, it was a pretty good conference.

No one would say that it was a complete waste of time, but it certainly did not come up to expectations. Bevin, at any rate, went to Moscow with the idea that he would take back to London a new text of the Anglo-Soviet alliance and a complete Austrian treaty, and he got neither. "If anyone else tells me they've cleared away a lot of dead wood, I swear I'll strangle him," one man was heard to say at the Moskva Hotel a day or two before the end of the conference. He didn't strangle Bevin; yet the gist of Bevin's press conference was precisely that: we have come to understand each other's demands in the interval; it looks disappointing but was a very useful conference really; the unity of the Big Four is greater than it was before; and so forth and so forth.

Bevin has stuck to his guns. On the question of repara-

tions from current production, which is really the crux of the disagreement on Germany, Bevin has been tougher even than Marshall. Marshall produced a proposal which clearly was not adequate from the Russian viewpoint but which at least, as Vishinsky pointed out, recognized the principle of current reparations, and if the Marshall memorandum had been seriously discussed, one might have detected the beginnings of agreement.

In the British delegation, reactions to the Marshall proposal, with its principle of "compensation" (compensation from current production for capital reparations to which the Russians are entitled by Potsdam but which they will not get with the raising of the industry level), was of two kinds. Some thought it was inadequate even as a basis of discussion; others, representing the Bevin school of thought, were scared lest the Russians read into it more than was intended—and soon nothing more was heard of it. As a result, the deadlock with which the conference began remains wholly unresolved as far as this fundamental question is concerned.

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The impression is that on the British and perhaps on the American side there was serious miscalculation from the start. Judging from various discourses about the conference during its early stages, there seems to have been an impression that the Russians would have given in, perhaps, because of the "appalling mess they're in in the Soviet zone of Germany." There, it was suggested, everything was going to ruin, and the Russians need steel so badly that they would waive current reparations and agree to economic unity without them.

This showed lack of understanding of Soviet psychology. If the Russians have a strongly desired objective—as reparations are—they will suffer far more inconveniences than anyone else would rather than give up trying. But since they have not subscribed to German economic unity, they are now obviously threatened with two other Anglo-American trumps. First, there is no guaranty that the industrial level will not be raised in western Germany, especially since the Russians, having accepted the principle of ten million tons of steel, cannot very well object to that amount on grounds of security (though the British and Americans say they would "prefer" not to act independently). Second, there is the danger to the Russians that they will fail to get, not merely reparations from current production, but even capital reparations, with the zonal system perpetuated.

The industry-level argument, if used, would of course be a quibble: if the Russians have agreed to a higher level, it is in order to receive part of the increased production in reparations. But Bevin's argument seems to be that the higher industry level, as seen by the British, has nothing to do with reparations, and that the eleven million tons of steel agreed to by the British government long ago was not intended to include reparations.

In addition, Bevin has now advanced the somewhat far-fetched claim that British and American loans to Germany, if not repaid, will, like the standstill agreements between the two wars, constitute a foundation for German rearmament. That is not the point. There is no idea in Russian minds of letting Britain and America finance Germany so that Germany can pay reparations to Russia. The Russian argument is that with the raising of the industry level there will be enough to balance German payments, repay Anglo-American post-war advances, and pay current reparations—if not immediately, at least after some time. To the question whether this is possible or not, Bevin has been giving nothing but the vaguest answers.

But no critical analysis of the problem has been made, and the French proposal that a committee of experts be created to investigate the whole matter has never been followed up. Instead Bevin repeats: "Our interpretation and the Russian interpretation of Potsdam do not agree."

No one who has followed this conference closely can be surprised that the Austrian treaty has not come off.

And it is extremely doubtful that the Vienna committee in which Bevin places such high hopes will be any more successful than the Foreign Ministers' conference. Russia knows how eager Britain and America are to see the Soviets get out of Austria. But the set-up of its occupation of Austria is one of Russia's few big trumps, one which it will not throw away for nothing. That the Soviets will consent to a peace treaty with Austria without the main lines of the German treaty being agreed upon is extremely doubtful. Austria may well be used as a means of obtaining a reparations settlement—at least such a settlement as may for some time be little more than a face-saving device but in the long run might approximate the ten billion dollars sought. Bevin's great eagerness to get Austria out of the way can only persuade the Russians to hang on to Austria at almost any price pending agreement on the main German economic problems.

There is also another Austrian angle—strategic and political. Austria is a Germanic wedge between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. With the evacuation of Austria Russia loses its communication lines through Rumania and Hungary. Austria is also the center of power politics between Russia and America. The Austrian government is notoriously anti-Russia, and in moments of indiscretion some high-placed Austrians have been saying: "Why worry about these German assets? Once we become an independent sovereign state we can pass laws which will reduce the values of Russian-held German factories and other assets to mighty little. For example, we can prohibit the export of such and such commodities, which will be the precise ones these plants are producing." Austria is politically and strategically so important that the Russians may well wait before departing and in the meantime study more closely the full implications of the Truman policy. There is an unhappy feeling on the part of Russia that, the Austrian government being what it is, Austria might be tempted to play the role of anti-Communist bulwark in Central Europe with American financial aid.

That such ideas are at the back of the Russians' minds is apparent from the seemingly unimportant discussions on whether the Austrian army must use home-made weapons or may import arms from abroad—Molotov insisting on home-made weapons only. In short, there is a persistent suspicion among observers of all nationalities that, even allowing for Austria's importance as a trump card in Russia's hands in relation to Germany, the Austrian treaty might still have materialized but for the Truman message on aid for democracies, which inevitably conjured up visions of Austria becoming another Turkey or Greece—and in a much more vital spot in Europe. My guess is that Russia will take certain precautions, such as putting Austria under the financial tutelage of the United Nations, before quitting.

Dixie in Black and White

BY A. G. MEZERIK

IV. Under the Sign of the Flying Red Horse

Houston, Texas

THERE is a new oil millionaire around. This one came up fast. He is in his thirties, and only a short while ago was a filling-station attendant. Now he is regarded as the probable heir to the mantle of Jesse Jones, who has for so long ruled the Houston roost. The new man is in the Texas "Regular" tradition. While his money came from oil, he has become a big builder and industrialist; in politics he is reactionary and fanatically anti-labor. He has the reputation of being a rough-and-ready fighter, and he fights hardest at the first sign of union organization among his employees. Union organizers often tell of their experiences with similar Texas millionaires. The union files charges of flagrant violations of the law with the National Labor Relations Board; the company's lawyers delay the hearings by every legal means; when the long-postponed day finally arrives, the union finds that its case has dissolved into thin air—the complainants have been bought up.

Houston, headquarters of the oil millionaires, is much like Detroit twenty-five years ago. New buildings are going up on every street; factories are humming; there are more jobs than men. And the talk is about the latest millionaire. My special millionaire's office, in this unmistakable boom-town atmosphere, is a cross between El Morocco's tiger-striped interior and a Hollywood producer's sanctum. I opened our interview with a question: "You are now a very rich man. You are still a young man. What plans have you for your state?" He thought my question curious, even silly. He wanted to talk about his plans for his companies. He had never thought very much about his state, but he felt sure that it was not only doing all right but was first in the world in every phase of human endeavor. There were only two evils, Communists and organized labor, and according to him they were synonymous—imported twin evils which should be destroyed.

I brought him back for a look at the Texas balance sheet. Texas is the first state in the Union in beef cattle—but in the control of pellagra, the disease of malnutri-

tion, Texas is forty-eighth and it has 19 per cent of the nation's pellagra. Texas is first in cotton—thirty-eighth in public-school systems; first in oil and gas—forty-seventh in public-library systems. On the long and proud list of Texas firsts are sulphur, pecans, and wool—but Texas is thirty-third in per capita income. "What does all that mean?" I asked. To him, the new Texas millionaire, the income figure, if true, which he doubted, meant that Negroes and Mexicans had been counted and therefore it was of no significance. He had never seen a white man, one not too lazy to work, that is, who wasn't doing fine.

The young millionaire's idea of bettering conditions in his state was to increase his own wealth. He wanted political power in order to make that job easier. The oil men team up politically with lawyers representing Northern corporations and with bankers. The three groups together are known as "Regulars." Under their domination the state government is the most reactionary political set-up in America. They stop at nothing. In 1944 they made an attempt to steal the election and to cast Texas's electoral-college votes against Roosevelt though the people of the state clearly wanted to reelect him. To gain their ends they seized control of the state Democratic convention. That they eventually failed is a tribute to the aroused citizens, who reacted in Texas as they did in Georgia this year when Herman Talmadge tried to usurp power. Leading attorneys joined with clubwomen, clergy, students, workers, and farmers to stop the Regulars. In the final round it was the farmers, up to 1944 not distinguished for political alertness, who won back the franchise for the people at a second convention.

Having failed to pervert the Democratic Party, the Regulars formed a political party of their own. They had but one aim, to defeat Franklin Roosevelt. They threw all their resources into the campaign. Their biggest gun was W. Lee O'Daniel, the once irresistible Pappy. Always willing to help his friends, the old king of the flour sacks stumped the state reviling Roosevelt. Pappy is tied in with the Houston tough guys in other ways. He is the best-known fellow-traveler of the Christian American group of fascists which heads up in Houston. One of the most violent of the city's rich reactionaries, the late John Henry Kirby, was among this group's earliest backers, and other Regulars have supported its activities—as, for the record, have various non-native sons, for example, John J. Raskob, Ogden Mills, and Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors.

That is the crowd for whom Senator W. Lee O'Daniel,

A. G. MEZERIK, author of "The Revolt of the South and West," has spent the past several months making a new survey of the South. This is the fourth article of a series he is writing on current political and economic trends in various Southern states.

self-styled the people's choice, went to work. The people of Texas booed Pappy in Austin and in the oil men's stronghold, Houston; they were apathetic everywhere else. And Roosevelt got the votes. With the help of Pappy, two former governors, and the ineffable Martin Dies the Regulars garnered just 10 per cent of the total.

REGULARS VS. RAINEY

The Regulars went back into the Democratic Party. They knew that while they might not be able to run the national government they could still run the state and



Senator Lee O'Daniell

the state university. President Homer Rainey, had made an honest effort to give Texas a university comparable to North Carolina's Chapel Hill. Its buildings were modern. Its teaching staff was of high caliber. But the Regulars controlled seven of the nine regents, and they demanded President Rainey's scalp.

The regents set up an inquisition which concentrated largely on irrelevancies, the most spectacular being the presence of John Dos Passos's "U. S. A." on university reading lists and the teaching of the economic doctrines of John Maynard Keynes in university classrooms. Of such stuff as this the regents built their case. In November, 1944, Rainey was fired. The students rebelled, held mass-meetings, made a great outcry. The Regulars took notice and obtained an investigation by the state senate, which, as was expected, went down the line to white-wash the regents. The senate committee's big achievement was to call as witness Regent Orville C. Bullington, an O'Daniel appointee and one of the state's richest Republicans. Mr. Bullington testified at length. He had heard, he swore, that there were several homosexuals in the student body and the faculty. He felt, he said in ringing tones, that Dr. Rainey had not been diligent enough in weeding out this evil. The hearings ended with this as its biggest sensation.

The progressives, after defeating the attempted steal of the national election, had lost strength, and they could not prevent Dr. Rainey's ouster. But now Rainey became the focal point for a new challenge. He spoke regularly over the radio, rebuilding interest and organization. In 1946 he ran for the governorship. In the campaign he raised many issues besides that of the state's domination by the Regulars. He spoke of education, his own field, and pointed to the need of increased facilities.

He listed the many things wanted by a majority of the people and indicated a way to get them: a severance tax on the natural wealth taken out of the state would do the trick—the value of the exported oil, gas, and sulphur is truly fabulous. But Rainey knew that passage of a severance tax was blocked by the Regulars and their controlled Legislature, aided by an antiquated constitution.

The Texas constitution is a product of confused Reconstruction days. Negroes, carpetbaggers, and plantation owners were represented in the convention which drew it up, and no one of the three groups was strong enough to dominate the proceedings. As a result so many checks and balances were written into the final document that the Governor has little power and it is next to impossible to enact a law. That frequently makes it necessary to amend the constitution; more than 1,700 amendments have been proposed since its adoption. A new Texas constitution is therefore a prerequisite to progress.

It was on all these needs that Dr. Rainey built his program. The Regulars went into action against him at once, but the most formidable obstacle to his success, as to that of any progressive candidate, was probably the huge size of the state. The Gulf ports and the cities of Dallas and Fort Worth are industrial. In many other parts of Texas the dominant interest is cattle raising; in the east it is oil and cotton; the southern tip, the lush Rio Grande valley, concentrates on truck farming and citrus fruits. No candidate without access to the press and support from it can hope to make himself heard everywhere unless he has unlimited funds, which progressives seldom have.

Dr. Rainey was also confronted with a well-organized smear campaign. It was carried on like this. Two agents of the Regulars would drive into one of the many Texas hamlets and stop at a local store. While leisurely making a purchase, the visitors would pick up a conversation and quickly turn it toward the political campaign. One would say, "I was going to vote for Professor Rainey, but in justice to my family I can't. I have learned on good authority that Rainey is a homosexual," using, of course, a much more common and vulgar word. This smear went back to the unsupported but well-publicized charges made about the university, though not about Rainey, in the state senate hearings. As they drove through the country, the rumor-mongers worked on other prejudices too. With religious people they used the atheist argument. Where racial feeling was strong they said that Dr. Rainey's children were intimate with Negroes, or with Mexicans. Meanwhile the Texas press laid down a barrage of Regular propaganda.

Attacked on many fronts, Dr. Rainey was kept on the defensive and was defeated in the election. This time the victory of the Regulars was complete. Not one office was won by the progressives, though in the past they had often obtained that of attorney general or lieutenant governor.

The Texas press continues to stymie every progressive

movement. Among the worst offenders is the *Light*, the Hearst paper in San Antonio, a city one would not expect to tolerate such a loud-mouthed, ignorant sheet. For San Antonio has a magic which captivates the traveler and mellows the resident. The little San Antonio River meanders through the busy downtown section, bringing with it hints of old Mexico and the tropics. Along its bank is a walk bordered by palms and flowering bushes. Here and there are terraced dining-rooms serving Mexican food. At one point an open-air theater spans the river. The stage is on one bank, and the spectators sit facing it on the opposite bank. The enchanted visitor comes up a winding stairway from the river into La Vallita, a restored Mexican community, complete with plaza and adobe huts, in which craftsmen work pottery wheels and spin native fibers.

The home-owned press throughout the state is controlled by very rich men who share all the prejudices of their friends the Houston oil millionaires. Their papers print little relevant information about what goes on in the Capitol. This denial of information to the people is made easy by the one-party system; no opposition is strong enough to expose the boys in power. The editorials of this press deal only in generalities, and any reference to labor or progressives is derogatory. Almost all papers praise the Texas Regulars. The numerous and important weeklies are like the dailies in serving reaction. A recent thirty-day survey found that fifty-two papers, almost all of them weeklies, were using undiluted handouts from the National Association of Manufacturers. This is hardly surprising, for the big corporations composing the N. A. M. have a strangle-hold on Texas.

EASTERN MONOPOLIES CONTROL TEXAN WEALTH

An expert estimates that one-half of all the industrial and mineral wealth of the state is owned and directly controlled by outsiders. Sixty per cent of the rest, he maintains, is indirectly controlled by them—through mortgages held by the big Hartford and New York insurance companies. Every major telephone, gas, and electric company operating in Texas is owned by Eastern holding corporations. Two New York corporations own almost all of the sulphur and thus have a perfect monopoly, for the Texas deposits are the largest in the world. Each year the East tightens its hold on every department of Texas life. Forty per cent of the ranch and farm land, settled and worked by the pioneers, is now mortgaged or owned in the East—which perhaps explains the large number of tenant farmers in the state.

The two legs on which Texas stands are agriculture and oil. But its oil will not last forever. Eminent geologists estimate that at the present rate of depletion Texas's oil reserve will be exhausted in twenty-five to fifty years. Only tiny fields have been discovered lately though the state has been thoroughly prospected. Meanwhile the

enormous profits from existing wells go East. The oil industry is closely integrated and tightly controlled. Twenty big companies, with interlocking directorates and combined assets of more than \$9,000,000,000, own and control over 60 per cent of the total investment in the oil industry. In 1939 these twenty companies produced over 52 per cent of all the United States crude oil and owned nearly 93 per cent of all crude-oil stocks. Control extends through the distribution system. The Interstate Commerce Commission estimated that in 1938 fourteen of the major companies owned 85 per cent of all the crude-oil pipe lines. The majors also dominate the refining of oil. In 1938 they owned 85 per cent of the cracking plants where gasoline is made.

These figures do not by any means reveal the present extent of monopoly control, which was growing even before Pearl Harbor and was materially increased by the war. When the great East Texas oil field was discovered in 1930, local people were in the picture. Independents had built 155 refineries by 1938. Then the inevitable happened. By 1941 the majors had forced out or purchased every one of them, with three exceptions.

Apologists for the oil companies like to tell Texans that they share in administering the oil industry through stock ownership. This does not hold up under scrutiny. The 100 largest stockholders of the Shell Oil Corporation owned nearly 90 per cent of the common stock in 1938. In the Sun Oil Company the figure was almost 85 per cent. Shell is owned by interests in Holland, England, and New York. Sun Oil is owned by the Pew family of Pennsylvania. Various well-known families, none of them Texan, have key holdings in other companies. The Harkness, Flagler, and Rockefeller families, for instance, have substantial interests in the six majors

of the Standard Oil group; the Mellon family controls Gulf.

Even most of the so-called independents, though they still bear the names given them by their Texan founders, are now owned by out-of-state interests. Humble, the outstanding one, is a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, which owns 71 per cent of its common stock. Magnolia is owned by



Caricature by Seligson
Homer Rainey

Standard of New York. The Texas Company has its headquarters in the Chrysler Building in New York. Most of its stockholders live outside the state of Texas.

Oil exerts worldwide political influence; it is therefore

not surprising that in Texas politics oil is the most important single power. The Rockefellers, the Mellons, the Pews, and the other oil kings keep a close watch on their Texas province. If the state could get out of the clutches of the monopolists and their Regular henchmen and could levy an equitable tax on oil and other resources taken out of its soil, it could make life very different for its citizens. It could build and maintain the finest schools in the world. It could have modern hospitals in every county, fine highways and farm-to-market roads, parks, playgrounds, museums, and cultural centers. It might become first among the states instead of nearly the last in caring for its old people and its dependent children. The fight against the tyranny of monopoly is the fight for all this. The Rainey forces lost one battle in the war, but there are others who carry on.

The influence of labor, particularly of the C. I. O., is

becoming stronger in East Texas. The middle classes are being stimulated by Minnie Fisher Cunningham, a leading Democrat, and her People's Legislative Committee, using the slogan "All Hands, Man Your Battle Stations." The students, particularly at the University of Texas, are engaging in vigorous political and social action, and the faculty, despite the onslaughts of the Regulars, has kept up its morale. Augmenting these progressive groups are able politicians, many of them young, and a growing number of business men.

These forces of the future face a tough job, which is symbolized in Dallas by the sign of the Flying Red Horse. Come into Dallas from any point of the compass, and you find that Standard Oil's team of flying red horses, revolving on top of the city's highest building, dominates the scene. Dallas and Texas live under that sign—literally.

Mr. Dalton and Mr. Micawber

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

London, April 18

THE British version of your Gallup Poll has just published the results of one of its periodical checks on the standing of Mr. Attlee and his government. The figures, in comparison with those of last December, are rather sensational. The proportion of the canvassed sample expressing dissatisfaction with Mr. Attlee's personal performance as Prime Minister has risen to 45 per cent, and the proportion dissatisfied with the record of the government in general has increased to 54 per cent. This represents a rise of 15 per cent and 12 per cent respectively in the adverse replies to the two questions asked. Since the poll was taken before the Conscription bill came up, the figures suggest a continuing and sizable swing against the government among the "floating" voters, who are so far not unduly impressed by the government's plans to get the country out of its economic mess, are not at all clear where Mr. Bevin's foreign policy is leading us, and are certain only that the cost of living—apart from subsidized basic food-stuffs—is rising disagreeably. For this they unreflectively blame the government.

It is questionable whether Mr. Dalton's second budget has increased the government's popularity. In his long speech in Parliament the Chancellor rather overdid his gratification at achieving a balanced budget so quickly

after the war. The patient British taxpayer is indeed putting up a remarkable performance; and though the Treasury this year will be borrowing £460,000,000 to cover non-recurrent expenditure not charged against revenue—thus rather more than offsetting the nominal £270,000,000 surplus in the budget proper—Mr. Dalton is fairly entitled to claim that the nation is "out of the red" so far as its domestic finances, as distinct from its balance of foreign payments, are concerned. But this solvency is being achieved only by the continuance of a terrific impost on personal incomes.

It is true that increased income-tax allowances will somewhat relieve the burden on wage-earners and middle-bracket salaried employees. But offsetting this for the large proportion of the population addicted to nicotine is the punitive increase in the tobacco duties, which will cost every household continuing to smoke thirty cigarettes a day approximately £27 a year in extra taxation irrespective of their income. Here, say Mr. Dalton's critics, is regressive taxation with a vengeance; and though they freely grant that it is imperative for Britain to cut down dollar expenditure on tobacco, quite a few M. P.'s whose constituencies are in working-class areas feel that it would have been more equitable to impose a rationing system on cigarettes along the lines of that already in force for sweets. While this might have led to a black market in non-smokers' unused ration cards, the objections in principle to "rationing by the purse" are still weightier.

Certainly the current grumbles from smokers in the

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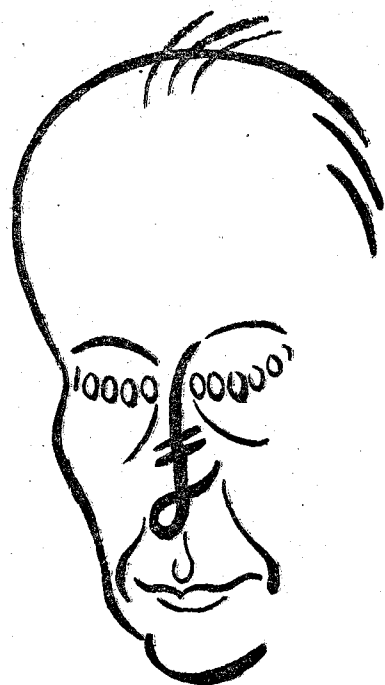
lower-income brackets are loud and are likely to be lasting. All except the well-to-do will probably have to cut down smoking drastically, and the penalizing of a pleasure which has become for many people an ingrained habit is bound to be unpopular. Among Labor M. P.'s, too, there is an uneasy feeling that though Mr. Dalton has shown no evidence of being disconcerted by the immense expenditure on defense, he is inclined to yield a little to the clamor of the opposition for economy in a direction which will hit the working class hardest. In the parliamentary debate which followed the presentation of the budget, Tory ex-Chancellor Sir John Anderson crystallized the view of the "men of property" by demanding not only a reduction in the taxation of large incomes but, even more emphatically, the curtailment of the subsidies—now costing £400,000,000 a year—spent in stabilizing the retail cost of certain basic foodstuffs. It is unlikely that Mr. Dalton will make any wholesale inroad into the subsidies, for if he did the resulting rise in the cost of living would lead immediately to a barrage of inconvenient claims by the trade unions for higher wages. There is a fear, however, that the government may intend to do a bit of financial juggling at the expense of the working-class larder. The present out-of-date cost-of-living index is to be replaced by a new one based upon typical working-class expenditure in 1938. But no attempt, apparently, is to be made to link the new index statistically with the old; and speaking of the food subsidies, Mr. Dalton held out hopes of saving a bit for the Treasury while still exercising what he described, somewhat vaguely, as "a strong stabilizing influence." How far this will differ from the maintenance of absolute stability remains to be seen.

In the "general public," then, there is a mental atmosphere of slightly uneasy disquiet which recalls in some ways that of the phony war in the winter of 1939-40. In that period, though Hitler's triumphant drive through the Low Countries and France was not foreseen with exactitude, an uncomfortable feeling prevailed that something unpleasant was going to happen some day. Today, though the man in the street has a very vague idea of the pattern events will take when the dollar loan runs out, he has an uncomfortable sense that the Maginot Line of his personal standard of living is not going to hold, and that disagreeable surprises are in store for him. He wishes that the government's steps toward meeting the crisis were less hesitant. He is not greatly impressed with this week's Cabinet reshuffle, the net effect of which is that the venerable Lord Pethick-Lawrence retires from the India Office on the eve of that department's final liquidation and the Cabinet is reinforced by the importation of a Liberal peer whose chief claim to fame is that he successfully organized the collection of charitable funds for Charing Cross Hospital and was a buddy of the late Lord Southwood of the *Daily Herald*. He observes, too,

somewhat cynically, that when it comes to the practical difficulties of eliminating the present wasteful employment of a great deal of our limited labor force, the governmental action is cautious to the point of timidity. In a recent broadcast the Prime Minister urged individuals who felt that their present jobs were of poor economic service to the community to look for more productive work, a counsel of perfection which few people are in a position to follow. It

had been hoped at least that the government would revive the war-time order to prevent employers recruiting additional labor for non-essential industry, but this is apparently not to be reenacted even in such a glaring case as that of the immense betting industry. It was announced this week that the government had simply sought and obtained a voluntary agreement with the managements of the football pools whereby they undertook not to engage further personnel unless recruits had been offered and had refused factory work.

What of the actual *Rassemblement des Gauches*—if one may borrow from France a political label which fits very well the congeries of radical trade-unionists, Social Democrats, and Marxists of which the British Labor movement is composed? Here the swing against Mr. Attlee and his government disclosed by the Gallup Poll is not manifest. The rank and file of the movement may be suffering a little from disenchantment, but if there were a general election this year, it would repeat its 1945 vote. Even the "rebels" in the Parliamentary Labor Party are still insistent that they want to bend, not break, the present Cabinet. Heartened by their success in inducing the government to make a hasty retreat on the Conscription bill and to shorten the period of compulsory service from eighteen months to twelve—a modification which will involve a considerable scaling down of British garrisons abroad—the left has found great encouragement in the enthusiastic reception given to the visit of Henry Wallace. His talks, cheered by immense audiences in London, Manchester, and Liverpool and given generous time on the air by the B. B. C., are regarded as having "put on the map" the cardinal idea of



An Impression by Oscar Berger

Hugh Dalton

Richard Crossman and his parliamentary followers that Britain's role in foreign policy is to be an unaggressive foundation member of a One World club which the United States and Russia may join or not as they please.

Starry-eyed? Perhaps. Certainly the official British approval of the Truman Doctrine scarcely suggests that the Cabinet is at all disposed to follow the Wallace line. Moreover, the British Foreign Secretary is seen here as having been even more eager than Mr. Marshall at Moscow to "put the squeeze" on Russia. Such an impeccably anti-Communist journal as the *Economist* has been constrained to observe that the Anglo-American terms for agreement on the economic unity of the Reich—no reparations until Germany was self-supporting and had repaid the Western Allies' occupation costs—were bound to lead to deadlock at the conference.

British Socialists, however, are by no means dismayed by the fact that they have not yet weaned the Cabinet away from a foreign policy which may be described as one of "vassalliance" to the American Axis, or even by the slow formulation of a plan on positive Socialist lines to deal with the economic crisis. Hard facts, they think, will force the government's hand. Having no expectation that the Geneva conference will lead to any such expan-

sion of multilateral foreign trade as would solve Britain's peculiar difficulties, they believe that shortage of dollars will compel the government willy-nilly to regulate Britain's foreign commerce increasingly through state control agencies, bulk purchase, and bilateral agreements with countries outside the dollar area. Equally, Socialists expect that stringency of external resources will act more forcibly than critical speeches in the House of Commons to restrain Mr. Bevin's imperialist proclivities. The only doubt felt is whether the Cabinet, without a substantial infiltration of new blood, will realize quickly enough that being unable to afford to do certain things constitutes only the negative side of policy: there are positive things to be done as well. It is not enough simply to require smokers to economize in dollars or even to decline the cost of active cooperation with American policies abroad; and it is certainly not enough to ask the British people vaguely to work harder under the threat of undefined, unpleasant consequences if they do not. Micawber, of course, could always claim that he had a policy; but if the really formidable task of reequipping Britain's industries and maintaining British standards of consumption is to be carried out, something much more resolute is required than the Micawber touch.

Backstage in the Persian Theater

BY ANDREW ROTH

Teheran, April 3
MOST of the spectators have left the Persian theater. On my way here I met reporters who had decided it was not worth while to stay after the pro-Soviet Azerbaijan autonomists collapsed under the pressure exerted by the central government backed by the British and Americans. They regarded me as someone arriving after the third-act curtain, but it is clear now that they left during an intermission.

World attention has been focused so intently on the acting of the major powers that little attention has been paid to the scenery or the Persian supernumeraries. Persia is equal in geographical extent to Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy together; it is rich in land and oil resources; and it has only 15,000,000 inhabitants. The people are stuck deep in the muck of a feudal decay which offends even nostrils accustomed to the East. On top is a small handful of wealthy, educated, pleasure-loving aristocrats, usually absentee landlords owning scores of villages. Then comes a thin layer of

middle-class tradesmen. Below are the illiterate, ragged, diseased, near-starving masses. Three-fourths of the Persian people are landless peasants living in villages which have scarcely changed in a thousand years; four-fifths of their crop goes to the landlord. Less than one village in fifty has a school, and almost none have any sanitary or medical facilities. The country as a whole is over 90 per cent illiterate.

Even Teheran, the showpiece of Persia, shocks the most hardened traveler. It has some fine public buildings, but the misery and degradation of its slums would tax the pen of a Gorki. A city of 700,000 inhabitants, Teheran has no water or sewage system. The well-to-do buy their water; others rely on that flowing through the open gutters, or *jubes*, along the pavement. My second day here I saw one man urinating in the *jube* while a short distance downstream another was washing his face in it. Little wonder that so many faces are scarred by "Bagdad boils" and other infectious diseases.

The few signs of modernization in Persia are largely the handiwork of the late Reza Shah, a nationalist general who overthrew the Qajar dynasty with British help in 1923, established his own family on the throne, and tried to bring the country up to date by brute force. He

ANDREW ROTH, on a roving commission for The Nation, has been in the Middle East for some months.

expanded rail, air, and road communications, started factories, and erected public buildings. He unified the country by disarming the tribesmen and jailing or poisoning many of their chiefs. As an assertion of nationalism he replaced the upstart name of Persia, an innovation dating back to 538 B.C., with the still older name of Iran. The new Shah's cupidity and despotism were revealed at every step. The land of whole provinces came into his possession. Thousands of liberals were jailed. At one time special police were stationed at every postal box, and it was illegal to mail a letter unless its contents were approved by the police.

But the curtain was rung down on Reza Shah's activities in 1941. When he lined up with the Axis, both the Russians and the British marched in, announcing it was only for the duration. Reza Shah was forced to abdicate in favor of his son, the present Shah, and died in exile.

THE TUDEH PARTY

The war and the Allied occupation accelerated the decay of Persian feudalism. Use of the country as the great supply route to Russia brought immense wealth to a few contractors, work for many laborers, and soaring business for merchants, though the majority of villagers suffered from shortages and skyrocketing prices. The influx of thousands of American, British, and Soviet soldiers made the people acquainted with mechanical equipment and Western living standards, gave them movies and magazines. Other forces for change were released when the ten thousand or so political prisoners were freed by the Allies. The most important of these prisoners were known as "the Fifty-three," an underground discussion group of professors and university students arrested in 1938. After obtaining their freedom, the Fifty-three founded the Tudeh (People's or Mass) Party. Even today the leadership of the party is drawn largely from socially conscious intellectuals of the middle and upper classes, many of them educated in France; only a minority are Marxist or Communist in outlook.

As the only pro-Allied group in a country whose upper classes were strongly pro-Nazi, Tudeh was at first encouraged not only by the Soviets but by the British, who supplied its organ, *Mardom*, with newsprint and other aid. But when the victories at El Alamein and Stalingrad dispelled the fear of a Nazi drive to the Middle East the British again made the safety of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which is 52.51 per cent owned by the British government, their first consideration. The Abadan refinery, one of the biggest in the world, is the chief source of the British navy's fuel and the only producer of 120-octane fuel for British fighter planes. Thus when Tudeh-sponsored trade unions began organizing the workers, they met with strong opposition.

As the war wore on, Tudeh made increasing inroads

among the educated youth, including army officers, and engaged in propaganda and health activities all over the country. To combat it General Arfa, the pro-British Chief of Staff, organized a fascistic "National Movement" ("God, King, and Country") with secret cells in the army. The government periodically banned Tudeh papers and dispersed party demonstrations. Political instability was so great that no Cabinet lasted more than four months.

At the end of the war the fluid political situation in Persia engaged the attention of both Russia and Britain. Kremlin policy called for encouragement for Tudeh generally and active support for the rebellious Kurds and Azerbaijani on the Soviet border. These minorities had longstanding complaints against the Persian central government and were expected to be useful to the Soviets if they received autonomy with Soviet help. The existence of an "advanced" pro-Soviet enclave, the Kremlin apparently believed, would be a radical force in Persian politics. In addition, the Kurds had kinsmen in Iraq and Turkey, and a pro-Soviet Kurdish national movement would strengthen Soviet influence throughout the Middle East. The Kremlin was probably misled as to the degree and character of pro-Soviet and nationalist feeling in the Soviet-occupied area by over-eager political officers on the spot—most of them Armenians, Kurds, and Azerbaijani from the Soviet side of the Caucasus border—who failed to discern that their informants were following the usual Middle Eastern tradition of saying what the listener wants to hear.

In August, 1945, Tudeh groups in Azerbaijan were absorbed into the broader Azerbaijan Democratic Party, and with active Soviet assistance a fast-moving campaign to organize autonomist sentiment was initiated. In November the Democrats began to seize military control. The occupying Soviet troops blocked reinforcements to the central-government garrisons, and most of them surrendered without resistance. By December 7 the Democrats had secured Tabriz. In January, 1946, the Kurds of western Azerbaijan set up a Kurdish People's Republic. The pro-British Hakimi government referred the problem to the U. N. and collapsed.

A PERSIAN MACHIAVELLI

Now a new and amazingly skilful Persian actor appeared on the stage. The wily Ahmad Qavam was a seventy-year-old aristocrat and rich landlord, but he was regarded kindly by Tudeh because he was anti-Shah, anti-militarist, and anti-British, and promised political tolerance. With Tudeh's help he scraped up enough votes to make him Premier. Once in office he jailed the pro-British ultra-rightists General Arfa and Saed Zia, allowed Tudeh to operate fairly freely, and entered into negotiations with Moscow. The British began to worry about their control of the Abadan oil fields.

Qavam was soon involved in a Machiavellian intrigue. While he played up to the Soviets and Tudeh, his ambassador, Hussein Ala, played up to the United States and the United Nations. His assistant, Prince Firooz, asserted Persia's undying friendship for Russia; Ambassador Ala denounced Soviet expansionism. When Qavam went to Moscow, his resistance to Soviet pressure was reinforced by Ala's statement that "in case Premier Qavam yields to Russian demands he will be forced to resign after his return from Moscow." And although Secretary Byrnes, and the Soviets too, cursed the Persians for their shiftiness, the game—known variously as *le double jeu* or "working both sides of the street"—succeeded: world opinion was mobilized, and the Soviets were forced to repair their incredible blunder in not withdrawing as promised. Furthermore, the United States had been drawn into the Persian tangle, giving Qavam a possible base of support against both the Russians and the British.

But although the Soviets had been pushed out and discredited, the Azerbaijani and Kurds were consolidating and demanding autonomy, and Tudeh was growing rapidly. Soon it reached a high of 200,000 members—1,000 students joined at one time—with over 300,000 in the Tudeh-linked trade unions. Almost 100,000 men, a third of the city's adult males, marched in last year's May Day parade in Teheran; in Abadan a Tudeh-supported union appeared above ground after having enrolled 80 per cent of the oil workers. When the strike broke out in the Abadan oil fields, British-supported tribal chieftains discussed the separation of the oil-bearing Khuzistan region from Iran. It appeared for the moment as if the country was disintegrating, with the north drawing into the Soviet sphere and the south into the British, as in the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907.

Qavam bent with the wind. He compromised with the Azerbaijani by giving them a considerable measure of autonomy, pacified the British by getting the workers to return and later banning the union, and mollified Tudeh by taking it into the Cabinet. At the same time he began to build a platform for independent action. American advisers were attached to the army, police, and health and finance departments; Iranian Airways was organized with American army pilots; a \$250,000,000 loan was requested.

Last fall Qavam began organizing his Democratic Party with the effectiveness of a Farley and the staging of a Goldwyn. He gave it a program much like Tudeh's and formed affiliated unions. Only party supporters could get government jobs—a weighty argument in a country with a population on the edge of starvation. Workers in government-owned factories were threatened with dismissal unless they tore up their Tudeh union cards and joined the new union sponsored by the Democrats. The Ministry of Propaganda and the state-owned radio were

at the Democrats' disposal. A uniformed force, the "Liberation Guards," made street fighting and wrecking Tudeh headquarters its chief work. Once it became clear that the police and economic power of the state were against Tudeh and for the Democrats, the venal and the economically vulnerable changed band-wagons. By October Qavam felt strong enough to force the Tudeh members out of his Cabinet and to announce that elections would be held throughout the country.

Under the pretext of supervising the elections Qavam mobilized central-government troops on the border of Azerbaijan but did not dare move them in until he was sure of strong Anglo-American support and that the Soviets would not intervene. Mr. Molotov apparently promised Mr. Byrnes in New York to take no action, and the Soviet ambassador in Teheran demanded only that Mr. Qavam stick to his pledge to solve the problem "amicably." The Soviets evidently advised the Azerbaijani and Kurds not to fight. The Iranian army marched in unresisted and for two months carried on lootings and reprisals, including the sacking of twenty-five Assyrian Christian villages.

Elections were then held "according to plan." The methods of ballot-box stuffing were as intricate as a Persian carpet but as effective as Jersey City's best. In Teheran unknown party hacks were elected and well-known independents kept out. The first major task of the rubberstamp Parliament will be to consider the Soviet-Iranian oil agreement negotiated last April. Premier Qavam favors its ratification but, in line with American suggestions, so amended that the Soviets cannot use the concession as a base for political infiltration.

THE INTERMISSION

At the moment Premier Qavam is well upstage, surrounded by his Democratic Party henchmen and supported by the very able American ambassador. Somewhat to the right is the ambitious Shah, bracketed with the British ambassador. In the background Tudeh is licking its wounds and regretting its overdependence on Soviet assistance. A brilliant young Tudeh leader said to me, "Until December any free election would have put Tudeh in power legally. And with even a tenth of the support the Soviets gave the Azerbaijani, we could have taken power by force had we wanted to. But now we have to plan, organize, and educate our members to be ready even if it takes ten years."

A few days later I learned that a young Tudeh leader who had been arrested the week before was walking about freely. He had so successfully indoctrinated his poorly paid jailers that without any bribes they allowed him to leave jail whenever he pleased. With such a persuasive leadership, and with the condition of the people so wretched, it seems likely that Tudeh will be the chief force in Persia in less than a decade.

Francisco Franco: Dictator-Regent

IGNORING the protests of the Spanish Pretender, General Franco is going ahead with his plan to transform his Axis-spawned government into a permanent "kingdom" for Spain. The Bill of Succession which he recently submitted to the Cortes is the most cynical document of its kind in modern history. Compared with "Regent" Franco, Admiral Horthy, the former regent of Hungary, was an amateur. Under this unprecedented decree Franco can remain in power as long as he wishes, enjoying all the prerogatives of a king and dictator; should he decide to take a protracted vacation, he can name a prince of his own choosing to occupy his post for a few years.

The Council of the Kingdom, which is to "assist" him in putting across this fantastic comedy, will also be designated by the Caudillo; it will include the Cardinal Primate, or the leading Archbishop in case the Primacy is vacant; the general who heads the High General Staff, or, if there is none, the ranking officer of the Chiefs of Staff of the Land, Air, and Sea Forces; and half a dozen assorted functionaries and members of Parliament. Were he still alive Ramón del Valle-Inclán, who was famous for his satires on the Bourbon king and the generals, could surely find material here for one of his most biting *esperpentos*.

But however ridiculous the plan may sound, its political significance should not be minimized. Obviously it means that Franco intends to consolidate the Falangist dictatorship and stay in office for the rest of his life. Still more important, it indicates that the Spanish ruler is fully convinced that he can rely on the continued support of Great Britain and the United States. In Paris I talked with a Latin American diplomat who had been in Madrid since 1945. He told me that if in the past two years Britain and America had once given a sign that they really wanted Franco out, the generals would have forced his resignation overnight without a fight. But the army was convinced that Anglo-American policy favored keeping him in the saddle, an impression that has become all the stronger with the new turn in American foreign policy.

Americans who have any doubts on this score need only read the comment made the other day in Lisbon by Gil Robles, exiled leader of the Spanish clerical fascists. Commenting on the succession bill, he said: "After President Truman's speech, Franco saw that his moment had arrived. He interpreted the speech as a sign that the Anglo-Saxon countries have seen the force and reason of General Franco's policy during his spell of power." Otherwise, it is evident, Franco would never have dared advance a plan which is an out-and-out mockery of the resolution adopted by the United Nations Assembly.

The Spanish dictator is justified in assuming that London and Washington have no objection to his holding the reins of power indefinitely. The announcement of the new decree provoked only mild disapproval from the Foreign Office and the State Department. And Britain's gentle rebuke was more than counterbalanced by the signing of a monetary agree-

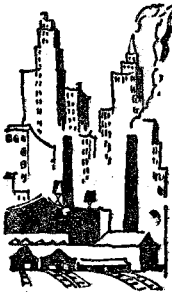
ment with Spain that will, the London *Observer* predicts, "clear the decks for brisk Anglo-Spanish trade." Moreover, American firms which a year ago were being cautioned semi-officially against dealing with Spain on the ground of the regime's instability have now been given the green light. As for the reaction of the Spanish people to the Christian General's new trade deals, Dr. Francis B. McMahon, the liberal Catholic writer who was recently expelled from Spain, reported in the New York *Post* on April 21: "They [the Spaniards] accuse Anglo-Saxon business men and financiers of profiteering at the expense of their misery. They contrast this with the fact that whatever else Russia may be doing, at least it is not doing business with the Franco regime today. They are beginning to wonder just who is the friend and who is the enemy."

Franco's latest move has had its repercussions in Republican quarters. If there was any excuse last February for choosing Señor Llopiés to head the new government in exile, it was the assumption of certain Spanish Republicans—an assumption I never shared—that the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Prietist faction which Llopiés represented had a greater chance of success with Bevin than the Giral Cabinet, labeled "red" the moment Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania recognized it. On the invitation of the British Labor Party Señor Llopiés undertook a visit to London a few weeks ago, only to find himself in the embarrassing position of seeing the new monetary agreement with Franco signed almost under his very nose. He returned to Paris extremely irritated, and an official statement issued after a pathetic Cabinet meeting complained that "those who had encouraged us by their words disappointed us by their deeds."

To those of us who have always maintained that only combined internal and external pressure will oust Franco, the latest developments have come as no surprise. We have never believed in the ability of the royalist clique to force concessions from the Dictator. Perhaps the Bill of Succession will serve a useful purpose after all, if only in demonstrating to the outside world the weakness of the Spanish monarchists. If Don Juan's followers had any mass influence, Franco would have thought twice before launching his new scheme. As for Prieto's policy of watchful waiting, in the expectation of an Anglo-American Badoglio solution, it no longer has a leg to stand on; two years of praying for a miracle from London have served only to strengthen Franco's hand and to sow confusion and demoralization in the Republican ranks.

But the Resistance reacted quickly against these defeatist maneuvers. On the very day after Llopiés named his "Cabinet of Liquidation" a group of Spanish Republicans in Paris formed España Combatiente—Fighting Spain—for the purpose of rallying Spaniards of all parties who are prepared to continue the struggle for the liberation of Spain and the reconstitution of the Republic. The new organization is growing fast and is bringing together Republicans in Spain, in France, and in Latin America.

DEL VAYO



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

"Fair Trade" for Whom?

THE New York *Herald Tribune*, telling the story of Newburyport's anti-inflation campaign, wrote: "The prices of everything, from food and clothing to luxuries, were slashed here. *The only exception were items whose prices are fixed by fair-trade regulations.*" I have italicized the sentence which seems to me to stick out in the story like a sore thumb, just as the price labels on those "fair-traded" goods must have stuck out in the Newburyport stores. It is a reminder of the way the anti-monopoly laws have been undermined in recent years by laws in forty-five states which allow manufacturers to fix and maintain the resale prices of their products and by the federal Miller-Tydings act, which exempts from anti-trust prosecution price-maintenance agreements made in conformity with such state legislation.

The so-called fair-trade laws now apply throughout the country except in Texas, Missouri, Vermont, and the District of Columbia. While varying in details, they provide in general (a) that protected merchandise must be trademarked and in free and open competition with commodities of the same character, (b) that distributors who do not themselves contract to charge designated resale prices are nevertheless bound to conform if duly notified that the article in question has been covered in their state by a price-maintenance agreement. A contract between the manufacturer and a single merchant is enough to bind all in the trade.

As repeated efforts to reach by telephone the American Fair Trade Council—an organization of manufacturers who maintain "fair-trade prices"—have been unsuccessful, I am unable to give up-to-the-minute data on the range of commodities covered by these laws. The latest issue of the council's journal, the *Fair Trader*, points with pride, however, to the fact that in New York State some 85 per cent of all drugs, cosmetics, and allied drugstore products—35,000 items in all—are protected. This probably is the branch of business in which "fair-trading" has made most headway. It is, of course, also a branch of business in which prices frequently have little relation to costs and in which retail margins are often very large. Consequently, before the passage of the fair-trade laws it was very attractive to cut-price concerns.

The economist for a large department store tells me that of the whole range of merchandise in which his firm deals probably not more than 10 per cent is subject to price-maintenance contracts. The proportion is high, however, in such lines as household equipment, photographic apparatus, and liquor. But new products are constantly being added to the list, and the approach of a "buyers' market" is accelerating the trend. Last year membership of the American Fair Trade Council tripled, and according to the *Wall Street Journal*,

a week after President Truman's price-decontrol speech on November 9 it received inquiries from fifty manufacturers who wanted to get in position to head off future price-cutting at the retail level. The *Journal of Commerce* of April 23, in the midst of all the news about efforts to reduce prices, reported that "Ohio's food industry will seek to cushion the impact of a return to sharply competitive sales at the retail level through a revival and broadening of the fair-trade program" (my italics). An even choicer example of fair-trade semantics was supplied by John W. Anderson, president of the Fair Trade Council, in an interview with *Printers' Ink* last fall. Price-maintenance contracts, he said, "provide fortifications against such temporary fluctuations in the buying psychology of the public as the buyers' strike now predicted in so many quarters." I wonder when Mr. Anderson and his friends are going to awaken to the fact that consumers' resistance to high prices is neither temporary nor temperamental; it is due to the hard economic fact of reduced purchasing power.

I would not deny that there is a case to be made for protecting retailers from destructive price competition. Undoubtedly under a free pricing system unscrupulous merchants sometimes attempt to knock out their competitors by under-cutting and so establish a monopoly. Occasionally the reputation of a manufacturer's product is seriously damaged when retailers sell it below cost as a "loss leader" and give the public the impression that it is worth much less than its normal price. But the fair-traders spoil their case by violently overstating it. They take no notice of the fact that efficient and alert retailers may be able to make savings in their overheads which they can pass on to the public by trimming prices a little. The fair-traders attack all competition at the retail level as "unrestrained price war" and accuse all price-cutters of aiming at "monopoly." (Incidentally, they don't use the term "price-cutting," because it has a favorable connotation for the consumer; instead, they have coined the word "price-baiting" in the hope of convincing housewives that when they fall for a bargain they are really being lured to destruction.)

The lengths to which the fair-traders carry their propaganda is illustrated by a speech delivered by Mr. Anderson on November 26, 1946, when he sought to identify the opposition to fair trade with communism. Considering that the fair-trade laws have been criticized by the N. A. M., the heads of many of our largest retail businesses, and the *Wall Street Journal*—just to mention a few "old Bolsheviks"—this may seem merely funny.

It is rather horrifying, though, that the spokesman for an organization of reputable business men should rely on cheap rhetorical tricks instead of attempting to meet soberly the arguments against fair-trade laws. Is it or is it not the case that such legislation makes for rigidities in the price system and so tends to lessen the efficiency of the free market which is the foundation of free enterprise? Is it or is it not true that in a period like the present fair-trade laws make for frozen inventories and so help to slow down trade generally? Is it or is it not true, as Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge has alleged, that the fair-trade laws have proved "a cloak for price-fixing activities between competitors"? These are questions which deserve an answer.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Critical Year

THE YEAR OF STALINGRAD. By Alexander Werth. Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.

THE historians who ultimately work out the explanation of why Adolf Hitler's Russian gamble failed will owe a heavy debt to Alexander Werth. Again and again they will return to the sensitive, thoughtful, and revealing record which Werth has kept of the war years in Russia.

Better contemporary records of what happened inside Russia between June 22, 1941, and the victory over Germany may exist. It may well be that the Politburo, for example, has kept stenographic reports of all its deliberations. An official reporter may have jotted down notes of all the meetings of the Russian high command and the Supreme Defense Council. What used to be known as the Council of People's Commissars may have kept a verbatim journal of its proceedings. But such revealing documents are not likely to see the light of day in our time.

Until they are available Werth's journals will remain a primary source of material as to what actually happened in Russia during World War II—what the people thought about the cataclysmic events which enveloped them, what official propaganda lines were adopted by the government to meet the frequently surprising developments, how the Red Army shaped itself in the crucible of battle, and what actually happened in the most stupendous military encounters of our time.

Werth's most recent volume, "The Year of Stalingrad," covers the period from May, 1942, to February, 1943, roughly speaking the second most critical period of the war—the most critical obviously was the autumn of 1941, when the Germans got their tanks into the suburbs of Moscow.

"The Year of Stalingrad" is an amorphous work, almost literally a hodgepodge. Werth has tried to do three things at the same time: to present a record of the intricate and most reveal-

ing shifts in the government propaganda line, to tell how the plain people of Russia reacted both to the propaganda and to the war developments, and, most important, to set down a fairly definitive military history of the war.

The burden of these tasks is too much. What he presents is the working draft of a study rather than a finished product. No one with editorial instincts can read "The Year of Stalingrad" without reaching for a pencil. But the very elements which make the book formidable for the general reader make it a joy to the student. Where else would you find notes about the effects of the loss of Rostov upon the programs of the Soviet ballet juxtaposed to careful interviews with Soviet military students on the successful strategy employed at Stalingrad?

Appropriately Werth concentrates his efforts on Stalingrad. He provides a wealth of detail and analysis of this epic battle which never before has been available, publicly, even in Moscow. In addition to translating restricted Soviet studies of the battle he has interviewed personally some of the chief Soviet military students of the campaign. In the field of both tactics and strategy Werth has obtained remarkable material, none possibly more revealing than that concerning the lightning transformation of the Red Army in July, 1942, after the loss of Rostov.

Rostov's fall, Werth is convinced, was as much due to panic among Red Army commanders and Soviet executives as to German military genius. It was not the first such event in the Russo-German war. Panic, he makes plain, hit Moscow itself on October 16, 1941, and almost resulted in the fall of the Soviet capital—an event which might well have turned the course of the war. And although he does not mention it, there had been panic in the Ukraine and, what was equally bad, faulty tactics as well, which led to the fall of Kiev and the virtual destruction of the southern group of Russian armies.

But Rostov was the critical example. Werth has not been able to get all the

facts, but he is able to report that there was a thoroughgoing purge of the Soviet officer corps. Soon the institution of the political commissars was abolished. Heavy emphasis was laid on discipline, respect for the superior officer, obedience to orders. At the same time there were vigorous attacks on outmoded tactics derived from the civil war and perpetuated by stupid leadership. The Russians faced the challenge presented by the realization that ineptitude, backwardness, and fear had cost them Rostov and allowed the Germans to enter the Caucasus and Kuban. And they met the challenge by forging the victory of Stalingrad, which finally convinced the average Russian that Germany could be beaten.

For anyone interested in going beyond the headlines, in knowing what really happened in Russia during a critical year of the war, this book by Mr. Werth, who is, of course, no stranger to readers of *The Nation*, is indispensable. HARRISON SALISBURY

Le Corbusier, Revivalist

WHEN THE CATHEDRALS WERE WHITE. By Le Corbusier. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3.

AS THOUGH the world had shaken off the rags of its antiquity, to clothe itself anew with a white mantle of churches. . . ." The glorious words of Raoul Glaber (*circa* 1050) are the keynote of Le Corbusier's message. The Renaissance of the eleventh century was the major one. Men of burning faith feel the same exhilaration today. This could be, and in spite of our tragic confusion this *is*, one of the springtimes of the world.

This hope and this joy Le Corbusier translates into architectural and city-planning terms, since fate, unfortunately perhaps, has made him an architect. He is the declared enemy of the schools and academies, guardians of conformity, good taste, tradition. And he came to America as to the land of promise, where men, unhampered, dared to live in the twentieth century.

His verdict is qualified. New York at first enchanted him: the skyscrapers because they were "romantic," the gridiron plan because it was stark, logical, functional. Disappointment did not destroy his sympathy. He is no Duhamel. He is indulgent even for our College Gothic. He does not rub it in that the Grand Central is Beaux Arts and the Pennsylvania Roman. He likes us. But he fumes because we are not American enough. The skyscrapers are too small. The Americans are timid people.

It is faint-heartedness that hampers us, not the profit motive—although he denounces that roundly enough. Enlightened selfishness would tear down the whole of Manhattan and rebuild it at a profit, for six million people. While the population of the island would be nearly tripled, the free area would be 88 per cent. We might even say 100 per cent, since the buildings would be raised on pillars.

I doubt whether six million people living in Manhattan would be a remedy for overcrowding. Even if well-spaced skyscrapers were an improvement upon our present chaos, it would be merely a palliative to the incurable disease called New York. A society as intelligent as Le Corbusier would simply not have any such macropolis as New York or Chicago.

The one great hymn of praise in the book is to Negro music. Le Corbusier might be defined as a revivalist with a jazz band. His conception of culture is "folklore and the machine." An admirable formula for barbarism. It is Hitler's: the folk soul and robot bombs. Those people would drive me back to Garnier's Opéra. But the book is ardent, shrewd, and witty—Le Corbusier's best, and the most tonic for us. As a prophet, he is stirring. As a city planner, he gave himself two permanent black eyes with his Voisin Plan for Paris: the ruthless destruction of all historical values. The great builders in Glaber's time were not nihilists. As Le Corbusier himself notes, they worked in the Romanesque, a bold and free handling of the Roman tradition; from the Romanesque of Caen or Vezelay to the Gothic of St. Denis or Paris there was a gradual evolution. "When the cathedrals were white," they implied no break with the past.

Le Corbusier is a stirring preacher: as an architect, he remains a dogmatist.

His buildings are angry fists shaken in the face of the Beaux Arts: in this particular respect they are highly functional. But they are devoid of either charm or power: he is no Saarinen, no Frank Lloyd Wright. Still, the book is delightful. It deserves a wider audience than Ayn Rand's; for it has all the "philosophy" of "The Fountainhead" without the melodrama and eroticism.

ALBERT GUERARD

Dissenting Opinion

SECRET MISSIONS. The Story of an Intelligence Officer. By Ellis M. Zacharias. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.75.

CAPTAIN ZACHARIAS is probably the navy's outstanding intelligence officer and certainly its foremost authority on psychological warfare. His book is important because of the evidence he adduces and the conclusions he comes to in his discussion of two much-debated issues—the predictability of the attack on Pearl Harbor and the imminence of the Japanese surrender when the decision was made to use the atom bomb.

His candor is refreshing and surprising, considering that Captain Zacharias is no psychological warrior or socialite G-2 or O. N. I. reserve officer but a regular from Annapolis, and that while his principal service interest has been Intelligence, he has had numerous line assignments, including, among others, the command of the heavy cruiser Salt Lake City, one of the little task force which, under Admiral Halsey, raided the Gilberts and Marshalls in our first major offensive against the Japanese.

Captain Zacharias's views on Pearl Harbor are, in part, known from his testimony before the Congressional committee investigating this disaster. Behind the tragedy of Pearl Harbor, he says, was the inadequacy of our Intelligence Service, the proverbial stepchild of both the army and the navy. The immediate reason was the failure of the local commander, Admiral Kimmel, to evaluate the intelligence available, and the similar failure of the high command in Washington to issue specific instructions based on this intelligence. Captain Zacharias further bluntly charges that both the local and high command failed to consult the opinion of those best

qualified to know what the Japanese might do under the circumstances. This charge has occasioned some criticism of the author as lacking in modesty, since it is apparent that Captain Zacharias regards himself as one of those who should have been consulted. The answer to this criticism is to be found not only in the fact that the subject is not one for false modesty, but also in the circumstance that Captain Zacharias's record undoubtedly qualifies him to speak as an expert in Japanese psychology and tactics.

He was first sent to Japan in 1920 by the Office of Naval Intelligence, at a time when only one officer of the entire navy could speak Japanese. Since then, and until the closing days of the war, when he broadcast in Japanese to Japan as the official spokesman of our government, he has made a specialty of matters Japanese. Not the least impressive evidence of his extraordinary capacities in this field is the fact that in March, 1941, several months prior to the outbreak of the war, he personally warned Admiral Kimmel at fleet headquarters in Hawaii of his "conviction that if Japan decided on war with us, she would open hostilities with an air attack on our fleet without a declaration of war, on a week-end, and probably on a Sunday morning, by launching planes from carriers. . . ."

Perhaps more debatable is his second thesis that Japan was ready to surrender unconditionally before the dropping of the two atom bombs. It is his feeling that we should have given Japan a little more time to consider and respond to the Potsdam Declaration, since the Japanese habitually require time to arrive at decisions. Here, too, he charges in effect that people like himself who were experts in Japanese psychology were not consulted. Considering the moral problem involved in the dropping of the two bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, this is a very serious statement indeed, and one which must be evaluated in the light of the recent declaration by former Secretary Stimson that the dropping of the bombs was necessary in order to insure the surrender of Japan, avoid an invasion, and save countless American lives.

Captain Zacharias was recently retired with the rank of Rear Admiral. It seems strange, in view of our present pressing

need for an adequate intelligence system as a guide to our foreign policy in the troubled post-war world, that both he and General Donovan, our two foremost intelligence officers, should be put out to pasture. One suspects, without knowing, that in both cases Barkis is willing.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

A Limited Device

GENTLEMAN'S AGREEMENT. By Laura Z. Hobson. Simon and Schuster. \$2.75.

IN THIS novel concerning a writer, Philip Schuyler Green, who lays aside his unimpeachable Episcopalian antecedents to become for a time a Jew the whole question of art and propaganda again rears its tired head. Green's fiancée, Kathy, hears his voice reproaching her condescending pity toward two Jewesses: "... if they'd been two Irish Catholic girls, all you'd have thought would have been how vulgar all that make-up is in sport clothes." If Mrs. Hobson's book were concerned with any less frightening theme than anti-Semitism, there would be no reason for a serious consideration of this piece of journalistic enterprise.

For Phil Green is a typical *Ladies' Home Journal* hero—tall, lean, with a touch of gray at the temples and a sensitive reserve concealing his true virility—a vigor represented in bed as well as at the typewriter, his creator carefully points out. With its 3,000,000 circulation and serialized fiction dealing in "countesses, young dukes, and American society folk" *Smith's Weekly Magazine* bears no resemblance to any liberal periodical extant or defunct. The series of articles based on this "journalistic stunt"—Green's own term on one occasion—is sensationally entitled in the best true-confessions tradition "I Was Jewish for Eight Weeks." In these gaucheries, in the conventionally unconventional love affair, in the ingenious "happy ending," commercial fiction is typified.

But one cannot deny to "Gentleman's Agreement" its status as an exposé. Philip Green is motivated by an indignation intensified through the brutal insults he suffers as a Jew. The crassness of prejudice faces him when a restricted hotel refuses him a room; the anguish of his own impotence strikes him when

his child is savagely tormented. The more insidious aspects of anti-Semitism are reflected in the latent philistinism of Elaine Wales, born Estelle Walovsky. Yet it is the emasculated liberalism of Kathy's genteel distaste for fanaticism, directed against or in behalf of the Jew, which is most excoriated.

Mrs. Hobson's treatment is, of course, a delimitation of the problem. The situation is not quite comparable to that of the miners and California Okies with whom Green has earlier identified himself. In the latter cases the issue is primarily one of economic injustice; in the former it is essentially a question of a chaotic moral order obsessed with an infantile need for reassurance, conscious of an inner weakness which must manifest itself in a perverted assertion of power. It is here that one finds the whole ethical basis of this novel questionable. Perhaps one can in the terms of propaganda consider the topical and the circumstantial. One can scarcely explore human nature and human values within the dimensions of an illustrated pamphlet. To make such an attempt is to distort and to cheapen—especially when the means is so contrived a device as Philip Green's masquerade.

JOAN GRIFFITHS

A Founder of Contemporary Liberalism

AN INTRODUCTION TO PEIRCE'S PHILOSOPHY, INTERPRETED AS A SYSTEM. By James Feibleman. Harper and Brothers. \$5.

CHARLES S. PEIRCE has often been judged perhaps the most original philosophical mind this country has produced. There can certainly be no doubt that Peirce's thought must receive prominent mention in any competent account of the origins of contemporary liberalism. Influential thinkers like William James and John Dewey, whose ideas have entered into the substance of current convictions, have called attention to the heavy intellectual debt they owe him. Yet Peirce was hardly more than a name to most of his contemporaries—he died in 1914 at the age of seventy-five—little read even by professional philosophers; and only relatively recently, subsequent to the publication of the first six volumes of his "Collected

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Papers" some dozen years ago, has he begun to receive the notice that he undoubtedly merits.

There are many reasons for the comparative neglect Peirce has suffered. The essays he published during his life, though some of them are eminently readable and were the inspiration for significant developments in philosophy, were chiefly concerned with apparently remote issues in logic and scientific method. They were also mere fragments from a comprehensive philosophical system with whose articulation Peirce was endlessly engaged; but he was unable, whether because of temperament or circumstance, to present his ideas in a coherent, intelligible form. His views on many fundamental questions were not always conspicuous for their clarity, nor were they always easily reconcilable with one another; and he himself admitted that no human being, not even himself, could put together his voluminous unpublished writings into a consistent whole. Except for a brief period Peirce was never connected with a university, in large measure because his marital affairs shocked the academic conventions of his day: he was thus denied the security and the discipline to organize his ideas so as to make them available to ordinary men. He was an intellectual maverick, and the isolation that was forced upon him accentuated his tendency to express his thought in unfamiliar ways. He therefore appeared to be more revolutionary in his philosophy than he actually was, and to be simply wilful in rejecting the hallowed dogmas of what passed for sound philosophy. A thinker operating under such handicaps is usually doomed to utter oblivion; Peirce was fortunately saved from such a fate.

Peirce's greatest influence, and in the judgment of many competent students his most substantial contribution, has been in the fields of logic and the philosophy of science. His papers in mathematical logic were an important stimulus to the development of a branch of formal studies at present undergoing in-

tensive cultivation; and they were also instrumental in liberating prominent thinkers from the conception of nature associated with the traditional doctrine of the syllogism. However, Peirce's concern with formal principles of reasoning was only a part of his attempt to develop a theory of knowledge that would be adequate to the requirements of modern experimental science. He attacked vigorously the use of authority, revelation, and appeals to self-evidence as ways for establishing responsible beliefs. He espoused the method of science for resolving problems in all domains of human concern, and he was eager to defend this method against all adversaries, like a knight his fair lady whom he has chosen from all the world. Nevertheless, he recognized that even the best method for obtaining genuine knowledge does not yield infallible conclusions: he viewed science not as a body of fixed dogmas but as the exercise of a method which constantly criticizes and corrects its own findings.

Peirce attempted to bridge the traditional chasm that isolated human reason from the rest of nature. He repeatedly called attention to the continuities that exist between intellectual and physical operations, and he spared no pains in exhibiting the objective basis upon which valid reasoning rests. Long before the current interest in semantic analysis became a fashion, he recognized the central role that symbols play in the life of man. Indeed, few recent writings on semantics are as rewarding reading as Peirce's discussion of the ways in which our language and our ideas may be made clear. According to him, the meaning of any symbol consists in the practical effects which the object of the symbol may have; and in consequence, the import of our ideas and actions must be viewed in the light of their effects upon the community of mankind. Peirce was thus a founder of pragmatism and a forerunner of contemporary positivism, but he also helped to forge the logical tools for a liberal social philosophy that is not committed to the preconceptions of nineteenth-century atomic individualism.

Peirce's general philosophy was inclusive enough to embrace an evolutionary cosmology. He had the requisite knowledge as well as daring to challenge the deterministic conception of

nature that was the orthodoxy of his day, maintaining that the laws which the sciences discover express only statistical regularities. Absolute chance and spontaneous variation were thus taken by him as irreducible features of the world. However, he rejected the view that general laws are nothing but convenient mental fictions, useful bookkeeping devices for bringing into order our sense impressions. On the contrary, he regarded general laws as formulations of the habits that things had acquired in the process of growth and development from an original chaos characterized by protean variety. The reality of chance, the tendency in things to form more or less fixed habits, and the progressive subjection of the primal chaos to general laws are thus the three central themes around which all of Peirce's thought revolves. He wrote philosophy in the grand manner, and there is much in him that makes him akin to Plotinus, Schelling, and Hegel. But although he is almost always suggestive and provocative, his speculative flights are of doubtful permanent value. On these as well as on other matters he wrote with assurance, but he also wrote cryptically; so that he can often be read to mean everything to all men.

Mr. Feibleman's volume is the first large-scale attempt to exhibit Peirce's ideas in systematic form, and to interpret all phases of Peirce's thought in terms of the latter's grandiose metaphysics. The chief value of the book consists in its bringing together, largely through quotations and paraphrases, Peirce's views on all the subjects upon which he had reflected. There is no attempt to evaluate critically Peirce's contributions, and as much space is devoted to expounding what is at best Peirce's fanciful speculations as his unquestionably substantial analyses. Mr. Feibleman's exposition is controlled by the assumption that Peirce was a consistent thinker and that his writings can be given an unambiguous interpretation. Mr. Feibleman is something less than successful in establishing this assumption, and indeed a more critical reading of Peirce than Mr. Feibleman has apparently made shows why he was foredoomed to failure. He writes in the conviction that the salvation of modern society depends on the adoption of a sound philosophy, and he does not con-

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ceal his belief that such a philosophy must be a species of Platonic realism. It is perhaps for this reason that he shows little understanding for features in Peirce's thought that cannot be made compatible with an extreme realism. Attempts such as Mr. Feibleman's to win assent to Peirce's philosophy in an all-or-nothing fashion, and to rivet everything in Peirce to his speculative metaphysics, are not doing service to what is vital and permanently valuable in Peirce's thought. ERNEST NAGEL

Militants and Realists

ACTION FOR UNITY. By Goodwin Watson. Harper and Brothers, \$2.

SINCE the race riots of midsummer, 1943, a bewildering variety of organizations with a bewildering variety of programs have been established to improve group relations in the United States. Incoherent and unorganized as this movement has been, it nevertheless represents the most significant attempt to apply the democratic process in group relations that has yet arisen in this country. Goodwin Watson has performed, therefore, a real public service in this first effort to describe and evaluate what has actually been happening. He describes the particular approach of each action pattern, appraises its effectiveness, suggests possible limitations, and indicates the need for further research. Clear, precise, compact, his study is most skilfully organized. Of primary interest to persons working in the field of race relations, it also has a larger interest as a study of democracy in action. No one who has attempted to invoke the democratic process in even the most simple form of community organization can fail to appreciate his pointed discussion of some of the major problems involved. The basic need in all such efforts is to induce the "action" people and the "prestige" people to work together. While Dr. Watson does not offer a definite solution of this perennial difficulty, he has a clear recognition of the importance of militancy. "A handful of militants can win more publicity and arouse more apprehension in public officials than the 90 per cent who go along smoothly enough with what ever is or is not done." As one who has been bruised and battered in

the endless fighting between "militants" and "realists," I read Dr. Watson's comments on this issue with the avidity of a veteran reading an account of the engagements in which he has participated. CAREY MCWILLIAMS

The Disadvantages of Respectability

FATHER OF THE MAN. How Your Child Gets His Personality. By W. Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$2.75.

THIS book is a discussion, on a popular level, of the personality differences and maladjustments of children, especially siblings. The authors are two University of Chicago sociologists who are primarily concerned with comparing the effects of varying cultural requirements on the character development of young children in different segments of our society. The role of the subconscious in determining personality, while not wholly evaded, is generally relegated to a subordinate position. (Dr. Helen Ross, an analyst, contributes a brief chapter on the child's necessity for identification with one parent, and an even briefer appendix that describes her use of play therapy as a research method.) Care is taken at every point to mention the importance of "emotional relationships" in the shaping of character; yet emphasis is laid at all times on the significance of "social relations" and cultural pressures exerted on the child to adapt himself to the habits and institu-

tions of the social stratum into which he is born.

Four children of two families are examined in detail, although the authors' conclusions are based on case studies of more than two hundred families. All the children are girls; two are Negroes belonging to the lowest income group, two are daughters of a professional man with a relatively high income. The ages of the worker's children are six and eight years; the upper-middle-class girls are both adolescents. This disparity is contrived to demonstrate the advantages and disadvantages of two opposing sets of familial and societal restraints within a single culture in terms of growth of personality. As might be expected, the children belonging to the highest income group show the greatest respect for property and the canons of respectability, and this integration is achieved at the cost of extensive ego-frustration. Middle-class mothers breast-feed their babies too seldom, wean and toilet-train them too soon, thwart their explorative tendencies with pens and walkers. Slum children are trained less rigorously, have greater freedom, more chance for self-expression. This comparison is used as a device to make the reader aware of the deficiencies of middle-class child rearing. However, a serious synthesis of cultural and psychological factors in child growth is not attempted. More case histories, a less episodic treatment of the cases presented, a choice of children at the same age level, a greater sampling of equivalent institutions in a primitive culture would have made a better book.

JOHN FRANKLIN BARDIN

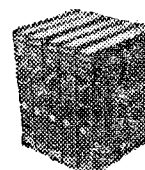
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Art

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DECIDEDLY, painting is now in a situation that forces it to live on accumulated reserves. Not a single important new impulse has manifested itself since cubism and abstract post-cubist art, Kandinsky, Klee, and Mondrian laid down positions almost thirty years ago that ambitious painting today has not succeeded in extending save in isolated and therefore minor instances. Painting has had in the interim to content itself with intensifying its occupation of territory conquered long since.

Marc Chagall, one of the best results if not prime movers of the revolution that is the School of Paris, is a case in point. The substance of his art has shrunk progressively during the last twenty-five years. After becoming one of the most pungent and personal of all twentieth-century artists between 1910 and 1920, he has failed almost absolutely since then to add anything to himself beyond Frenchified refinement and a more hedonistic sensuousness. Not that he does not still betray twinges of ambition, but these very twinges serve now only to disorganize his work. Chagall's recent show at the Matisse Gallery makes it clear that today he has to keep his aims modest in order to produce successful pictures—compromised though these successes may be by their lack of seriousness or weight. Some of the thirteen gouaches Chagall has turned out as illustrations for "A Thousand and One Nights" are felicitous, but it is the felicity of prettiness. And his oils, which are quieter and more fulfilled than most of his recent ones, escape prettiness not because of the heavier medium but simply because of his permanent difficulty in unifying his canvases—present even in such obviously well-painted works as "The Red Rooster," the "Resurrection," and the "Madonna of the Village." (It is curious how Chagall's original *gaucherie* persists no matter how syrupy his painting becomes.)

In the final analysis this art lacks an extreme, even the extreme of control. Chagall has no longer enough to say to fill out his style, which is left without strains or tensions. He was never an independent, self-fructifying master like Matisse, and the present delinquency of his art reflects, precisely, the decay of the movement that quickened and nourished him in the beginning. It is

Chagall's tragedy that he has never had much more than his genius.

The latest annual show of the American Abstract Artists makes in its own quite different way the same point as Chagall. Here the hand of the past descends more heavily because none of the thirty-seven artists represented can quite boast a temperament. Some of them have an abundance of vitality, at least of a mechanical kind, but nowhere does it break through the canonical modes of the School of Paris to assert a new independent personality—or an idea. Witness only the show of fruitless energy made by such painters as Judith Rothschild and Perle Fine. Of all the people present Fannie Hillsmith and Maurice Golubov, both of whom used to take from Klee but now appear to have parted company with him, demonstrate the most valid native talent, grasp the identity of a picture most instinctively, but both confine themselves to slight effects, effects they get without forcing. And the same can be said of the other painters who show respectable works at this show: Maurice Berezov, Eleanor de Laittre, Irving Lehman, A. D. Reinhardt, Max Spivak, and the sculptor Harold Krisel. Not one is bold, extravagant, pertinacious, or obsessed. Like American poets and critics, they are mortally afraid of making fools of themselves. Politeness covers all.

The League of Present Day Artists, whose thirty-odd members showed recently at the Argent Galleries, are not so polite by half, but small good it does them. If the A. A. A. are like the *Kenyon and Sewanee Reviews*, the league is like Kenneth Patchen and Henry Miller in his so frequent off moments (I assume my readers are more familiar with literature than with art). Nothing sinks so low as revolt for the sake of revolt—especially when the opposition has succumbed decades ago. The A. A. A. takes off at least from cubism, whereas the League of Present Day Artists begins from—Vla-minck, Rouault, Franz Marc, *Schwärmerei*. This is the lamentable backwash—refuse-laden and inexplicable, talentless, pointless—of the expressionism that flowed past the point where we are now standing twenty-five years ago. One wonders how these artists deceive themselves—can't they see how much better-packaged this tripe is at any Whitney Annual? I would like, however, to save the names of Pennerton West, a painter, and Harvey S. Weiss, a sculptor, from the morass that surrounds them. Compromised as they are

by their company, they have enough innate talent to keep their heads above the general muck.

Ivan Mestrovic, the Yugoslav sculptor and, according to the release of the Metropolitan Museum, where his latest work is now being shown (through June 1), "one of the world's most famous artists," hardly belongs in any discussion of modern art—and will, eventually, belong in the discussion of no art whatsoever. Mestrovic may have been a better sculptor in the past; his bronze pieces have at least a sort of cuteness. But his stuff is also one of the sources of that awful archaeological, archaic, stylized, ornamental, decorative nonsense which is the bane of contemporary stone and bronze sculpture. A lot of modeler's talent has been put into the expressive distortions and simplifications of Mestrovic's bronze studies for his "Job," but it is just so much talent invested to keep Madame Tussaud's Waxworks going. Anybody from Rockport or Provincetown could show him how to make it "art."

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ON THE additional London Decca records that I have heard are several familiar works: Strauss's "Don Juan," performed by the National Symphony under Sidney Beer (Set ED-15; \$5); Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker" Suite, performed by the same orchestra under Stanford Robinson (Set ED-9; \$7); and Tchaikovsky's "Pathétique" Symphony, performed by the same orchestra under

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Albert Coates (Set ED-21; \$13). These are works I enjoy; and the performances of "Don Juan" and the "Nutcracker" Suite are good; but the one of the "Pathétique" is very bad. On a wide-range phonograph their recorded sound has the spaciousness and remarkable depth and roundness in space of the first English Deccas that I discussed—the "Don Juan" being especially fine; but the sound is also brash, with the violins veiled and sharp-edged—this also being especially true of the "Don Juan." On a limited-range machine (4000-5000 cycles) the sound lacks the brightness it should have, but is richly sonorous and pleasantly smooth.

Among the unfamiliar works are Benjamin Britten's Introduction and Rondo alla Burlesca Opus 23 No. 1 and his Mazurka Elegiaca Opus 23 No. 2 for two pianos, played by the composer and Clifford Curzon (Set ED-17; \$5). The first of these is, for me, noisily pretentious and uninteresting; the second, in its quiet way, more impressive. They are well-performed and excellently recorded.

Franck's "Le Chasseur maudit" is excellently described by a reader as "a symphonic poem that might almost be by Saint-Saëns if Saint-Saëns had taken it into his head to copy Franck's harmonic mannerisms—something he was doubtless quite capable of." In other words, a work of little consequence, which is well-performed by the London Philharmonic under Franz André (Set ED-20; \$5). No more consequential are Tchaikovsky's "Opritchnik" Overture, well-performed by the National Symphony under Fistoulari (K-1291; \$2), with a good performance of Bellini's Overture to "Norma" on the reverse side; Schubert's Overture in Italian style Opus 170, well-performed by the same orchestra under Unger (K-1327; \$2); and Mendelssohn's Capriccio Brilliant Opus 22 for piano and orchestra, well-performed by Moura Lympany with the same orchestra under Boyd Neel (K-1191; \$2). The recorded sound of all these is like that of the other orchestral works—with the violins clearer and sweeter in the Franck piece than in the others on a wide-range machine, and with the "Norma" and "Opritchnik" overtures confused at times by reverberation.

A reader who agrees with me about the beautiful sound of the English recording of "The Messiah" recently issued here by Columbia adds: "Don't the American record people listen to what they import and repress? Are they

deaf? Don't they know that if they turn this stuff loose here the American public will have a standard of judgment?" All rhetorical questions, of course, to which he provides the answer: "They probably count (and probably correctly) on the fact that the American public will turn the treble control down to the bottom and the bass control up to the top, and will never know the difference between good and bad."

I still get occasional inquiries about the unreleased recordings of Beethoven's Sonatas Opus 111 and Opus 109 that Schnabel made for Victor in 1942, and that I mentioned in the 1943 edition of my "Music on Records"; and a few readers have passed on to me Victor's reply to their inquiries: that the "records in question were never approved by the artist nor by this Company," and that "there are a number of reasons, which we are not at liberty to discuss at this time, why the recordings . . . have not been released." That the recordings were not approved is true; but it is only part of the truth and gives an incorrect impression. The complete truth is that, as usually happens, certain sides had turned out unsatisfactory, and that approval was withheld until these sides could be, as such sides normally are, recorded again by the artist. In September 1942, when I heard the test-pressings, the man then at Victor who was handling the Schnabel recordings expected the unsatisfactory sides to be remade as soon as the Petrillo ban was ended, and the recordings then to be released. And what "we are not at liberty to discuss at this time" is the reason why, when after two and a half years the Petrillo ban was ended, the new people at Victor decided not to do anything more with those Schnabel recordings.

The conclusion I reached about the reason was that these people had no regard for and interest in Schnabel's playing (if I appreciated Toscanini, one of them said to me, I should appreciate the same things in Horowitz's playing). This was hotly denied: the reason, it was contended, was the pressure on Victor's recording-time and equipment from its own artists who had waited for recording to be resumed, and the fact that Schnabel was under contract not to Victor but to H. M. V.—which led Victor to decide to let him make recordings in England which it would, as in the past, then press and issue here. But only people with no interest in his playing would have made this decision, in disregard of his age, of the years that

already had been lost, and of the fact that in 1945 he still had no prospect of getting to England. And the fact is that although Schnabel did finally record for H. M. V. last summer, and imported pressings of at least one of the recordings—of Mozart's A minor Rondo—have reached this country, Victor still hasn't given any sign of pressing and issuing them here. (The recording of the Mozart Rondo was broadcast by WQXR recently: it seemed to me a beautiful performance of this marvelous work. As for the new recording that Schnabel made in England of Beethoven's G major Piano Concerto—presumably because of justified dissatisfaction with the performance he recorded for Victor in 1942—I should not be surprised if we never hear it—if, that is, Victor not only doesn't press it here but prevents its importation.)

In September 1942 Victor also expected the unsatisfactory sides of the recordings that Toscanini had made with the Philadelphia Orchestra to be remade, since he was to work with the orchestra again that year. But in 1945 he was no longer working with it; and the decision was to make a new start with the N. B. C. Symphony. This has given us some fine things; but the loss of those wonderful performances with the Philadelphia is something to mourn over, especially since their imperfections are negligible by the side of the defects of some of the recordings Victor has released—the Beethoven Piano Concerto No. 3, for example.

CONTRIBUTORS

HARRISON SALISBURY spent some time in Russia as correspondent for the United Press.

ALBERT GUERARD, professor of comparative and general literature at Stanford University, is the author of "The Future of Paris," a book on city planning.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, a Chicago lawyer, served as a major in the OSS during the war.

JOAN GRIFFITHS is a member of the English department of Smith College.

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CAREY McWILLIAMS, staff contributor to *The Nation*, is the author of "Southern California Country," "Brothers Under the Skin," and other books.

Letters to the Editors

Can't Deny It

Dear Sirs: I thank you for sending me an advance copy of the March 15 issue of *The Nation*, with its editorial, The Lewis Case.

I regret deeply that none of the members of the editorial staff of *The Nation* ever worked in a coal mine.

JOHN L. LEWIS

Washington, April 15

Anyway . . .

Dear Sirs: The University of Southern California announces its second summer Workshop in Intercultural Education from June 23 to August 1. The staff will include Dr. Harvey S. Locke, sociologist; Dr. Tanner G. Duckrey, Negro educator, Philadelphia Public Schools; Mrs. Sybil Richardson, psychologist, Los Angeles County Schools; Mrs. Afton Nance, supervisor, Riverside County Schools; Mrs. Beatrice Krone, music education; Dr. Glen Lukens, art education, the University of Southern California.

The Workshop carries six units of graduate credit. Membership in the Workshop is limited to forty. Application should be made to Mrs. Jane Hood, School of Education, the University of Southern California, Los Angeles 7, California, not later than May 15.

JANE HOOD

Director of Workshop

Los Angeles, April 7

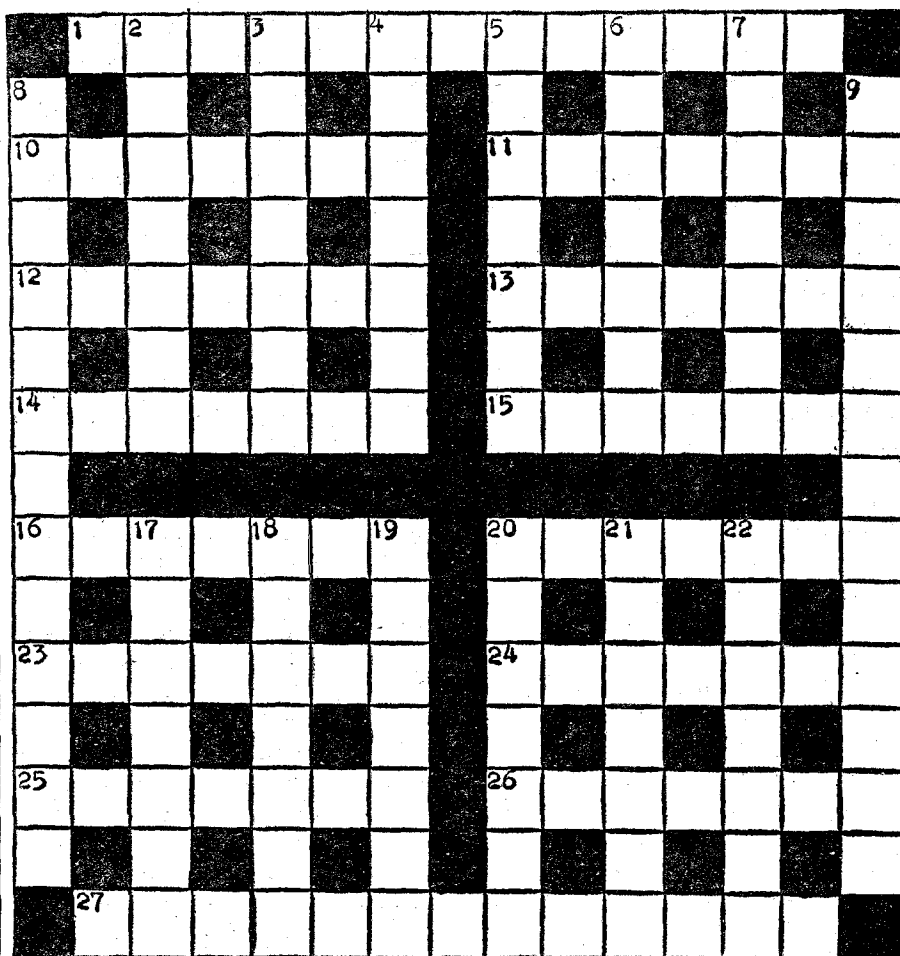
. . . You Can't Lose

Dear Sirs: The University of California at Los Angeles, the San Diego State College, San Diego City Schools, San Diego County Schools, and the Pacific Coast Council on Intercultural Education announce a joint summer workshop from June 23 to August 1, on the San Diego State College campus. Graduate school credit, six units.

Members of the staff include Dr. Stewart G. Cole, director of the Pacific Coast Council and of the workshop; Dr. Leslie Pinkney Hill, distinguished Negro leader and president of State Teachers College, Cheney, Pa.; Dr. Mildred J. Wiese, president of the California Association of Adult Education; Mrs. Ruth D. Tuck, author of "Not with the Fist," consultant on Mexican American problems; Dr. Peter Lee, consultant on Chinese and Japanese Ameri-

Crossword Puzzle No. 210

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

- 1 What Balaam must have felt when his ass broke into light conversation
- 10 Let the little chap travel to get better
- 11 Frozen water en bloc, so to speak (3 & 4)
- 12 A blow—with the end of it perhaps (slang)
- 13 Useful thing for the painter to have on hand
- 14 Deprived of some right
- 15 French encyclopedist
- 16 Floor covering ruined for the sake of Art?
- 20 Wipe out—with the aid of water possibly
- 23 The stupid fellow starts to soften
- 24 Though hard hit by the price rise, he still has what it takes to pay the landlord
- 25 Infuriated
- 26 Concluding musical movement which particularly interested Beethoven (3 & 4)
- 27 Outcome of crisis in building (9 & 4)

DOWN

- 2 *Beauty and the Beast*, say, in a Parisian theater?
- 3 A Somerset Maugham short story (4 & 3)
- 4 Dee Celt (anag.) is voted into office
- 5 Held fast

- 6 Something for the tobogganist has in it something for the golfer. That's hard
- 7 Not the situation in which the Poles find themselves
- 8 He does his best to give one a bright outlook (6 & 7)
- 9 By no means a simple Simon (5, 3, 5)
- 17 Pet remedy with a rum base
- 18 He discounts money
- 19 Related (anag.)
- 20 The returning tar is embraced by Eric
- 21 Albino infection (4 & 3)
- 22 Town in Kenya Colony

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 209

ACROSS—1 BEDEW; 4 ROC; 6 COMIC; 9 ORMONDE; 10 ORANGES; 11 NESTLE; 13 REMEDIES; 15 ALLURED; 16 ENLIST; 17 ASHY; 19 SITTING; 21 RUSH; 23 EUREKA; 25 AGGRESS; 27 PORTIERE; 28 TSETSE; 31 TOO FINE; 32 MOTHERS; 33 HUSSY; 34 SOS; 35 DATUM.

DOWN:—1 BROWN; 2 DAMOSEL; 3 WINDLASS; 4 REEK; 5 CLOVER; 6 CRAVED; 7 MAGPIES; 8 CASES; 12 ELTINGE; 13 RUPTURE; 14 MEANEST; 16 EAR; 18 YEA; 20 GUSSETED; 22 SERIOUS; 24 ENTREAT; 25 AIRILY; 26 GREENS; 27 PATCH; 29 EPSOM; 30 EMUS.

can affairs; Dr. William J. Stone, director of the Intercultural Education Experiment, San Diego City Schools.

A number of fellowships and scholarships are available. Application should be made to Dr. Stewart G. Cole, Room 262, Chamber of Commerce Building, Los Angeles 15, California.

STEWART G. COLE

Los Angeles, April 16

A Request for Letters

Dear Sirs: I am at work upon a Letter-Book of American Jewish History, which is to include letters written by American Jews from the period 1654 to 1924. I should be very happy to hear from any of your readers who may have such material which they would be willing to lend me. I will take good care of what is sent me, use nothing unless authorized, and return the material as speedily as possible. My address is: The Hebrew Union College, Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati 20, Ohio.

JACOB R. MARCUS

Cincinnati, April 13

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The address of the Committees of Correspondence, inadvertently omitted from the Letters column of *The Nation* in the issue of April 12, is 1 West Eighty-fifth Street, New York. The cost of annual membership is \$1.]

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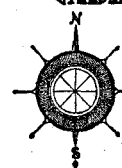
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What price suppression of Communists?

Dear Friends of The Nation:

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This isn't the first time I have addressed an appeal to you to fight against suppression. "*Red-baiting isn't news.*" We had it here in 1918-1920 under Attorney General Palmer and his aide—J. Edgar Hoover. Eugene V. Debs was in prison then, so were the I.W.W. leaders. Hundreds of immigrant workers were deported. James Larkin, C. E. Ruthenberg, and others were jailed in New York State. Governor Al Smith pardoned them and branded their trials as an infringement on political discussion. It was a "smear" to be an industrial unionist or Communist then, as it was to be a Christian in the time of Paul of Tarsus. But surely every liberal reader of this journal knows that truth is not killed nor are lies forever perpetuated by persecution, no matter how severe.

In 1920, as now, the redbaiting campaign was tied up with a drive against organized labor—for the open shop, for company unionism, against collective bargaining. Redbaiting is a smoke screen of lies, misrepresentation, and distortion behind which the big interests plan to smash the labor movement and the democratic rights of all as well as of the Communists. This pattern is glaringly visible today—in the Hartley Slave Bill, in the vicious onslaught on Henry Wallace, in the un-American activities of the Rankin-Thomas Committee. But 1947 is not 1920, though Mr. Hoover, who hasn't learned in 27 years to correctly pronounce Communist and still calls it "Com-in-ist," does not realize this. His understanding is as faulty as his pronunciation. Labor—the A.F. of L., C.I.O. and R.R. Brotherhoods—is millions strong today. The plain people's movement is rising throughout the land. It will grow in our country too.

Communists the world over have earned their right to respect in valiant struggles against Nazi occupation of or the Nazi threat to their countries. The American Communists fought during the past three decades for the needs of the unemployed; to organize the unorganized; for the democratic rights of the Negro people; for the Spanish people in their struggle against fascism. Thousands of Communists went to Spain and a large number laid down their lives there. 15,000 members of our Party fought in the World War. Not one was dishonorably discharged. Many died in battle. Many were decorated for heroism in our country's war against fascism.

Every reader of this journal knows the pattern of fascism, as it appeared elsewhere. *The big lie of Hitler was anti-Communism.* The suppression of the Communist Party was inevitably followed by outlawing of the labor unions, an onslaught on the Jewish people, a smashing of all democratic movements. The pattern of fascism is casting its ominous shadow across our country today. Communists' rights are your inalienable rights. Liberty and justice for all, is indivisible. "*What price suppression of Communists?*" you must ask yourself. Do you want fascist practices in our country? To outlaw the Communist Party, or to restrict its activities in any way, is to put in real jeopardy your own precious rights to independent political action. Do you want Rankinism rampant in our land? Do you want loyalty "purges" of government employees costing 50 million dollars? Far better to spend it on housing, health, and industrial safety. Whether you agree with us, as Communists, or not, we do urge you to fight for your own rights, by fighting for ours. Remember what happened to liberals under fascism. Surely American liberals do not want to associate themselves with a Rankin, Bilbo, Parnell Thomas, a Lindbergh, Hoover (either of them) or a Hitler in the big lie, which will boomerang against them too.

Through the fog of radio and newspaper attacks, the Communist Party demands a hearing from the American people, to state our case. We are *not* advocates of force and violence; we are *not* out to overthrow the American government. We do stand for what we believe to be the best interests of the American people—for peace, for economic security, for the full democratic rights of all, and for Socialism as an ultimate goal. We are an American party, deciding our own program in regular conventions. *Have you ever read the Constitution of the Communist Party with our purposes clearly set forth?* I'll gladly send you one, plus other literature about the Party. At least one should know what the Communists do stand for, before judging them.

What can you do in this fight against red-baiting? Write letters of protest to The House Un-American Committee; to President Truman and to Attorney General Clark; you can make a contribution to help the Communist Party get on the air and pay the cost of advertisements like this one. Those reactionaries who want to scrap the Bill of Rights are the same ones who want to destroy the trade unions and who would by-pass the United Nations and lead us into war. Act now—before it is too late. The price of the suppression of Communists is that you can lose your rights.

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